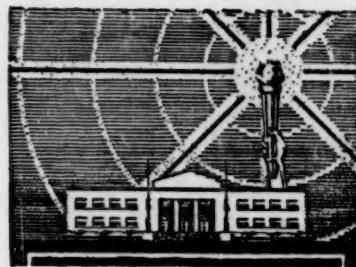


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As the Editor Sees It

During the past year or so, the United Nations has been enlarged to include 99 nations—a total increase of two-thirds in less than a decade. Practically all of the new members are states of Africa and Asia which have recently acquired their independence from the European nations who formerly controlled them. About a quarter of the General Assembly now consists of the delegations from Africa alone. Many of these states are so new in world affairs that even their names mean little to the average American with a reasonable pre-war training in geography, except for the Congo. This has always been a common term for the African jungle in American thinking, and the fact that two new United Nations members bear this name has done nothing to clarify the situation. Nor of course have the bloody and kaleidoscopic events of recent months helped dispel the foreign impression that Central Africa is still a savage jungle, whether recognized by the U.N. or not.

Suddenly the people of the western nations have become rather nervously aware that they have acquired enough voting partners in the world organization they started, to threaten their control of it. Further, these new partners are generally unstable in government, backward in most of the kinds of achievements valued by the old members, and economically helpless. It is a situation fraught with very serious possibilities.

There is rather an interesting partial analogy between the new nations' problems and those of the South after the Civil War.

True, there is no large population of conquered and resentful whites in these nations, but the governments are in the hands of a people who are largely illiterate, poverty-stricken and in some cases still jungle tribesmen. Their political experience is hardly more than that of our freedmen of 1865, and their leaders scarcely more sophisticated, though generally better educated. In short, the situation is just as promising for hopeful carpetbaggers as was the post-bellum South. The Afro-Asian neophytes have the votes, the ambition and many urgent needs. They comprise a fertile field for unscrupulous intervention — and there are carpetbagger nations ready to intervene to "aid" them.

There are those among our thinking men who do not hesitate to say that the next world war, if there is to be one, will not be between the Soviet group and the western nations, but between the white nations and the colored ones—the haves and the have-nots. If this is to be prevented, it must be done now, before the new and eager young states have been exploited, disillusioned and disaffected. If they become mere pawns in the Soviet-western power struggle, their impulse will be to come together, probably under Chinese leadership, and plan for a future with no place for Slavs or Caucasians generally. Neither Russia nor the West can afford to let this happen. There must be no carpetbagging by either side. A temporary gain for Communism or Capitalism will mean little if the end-result is a global racial conflict.

The Lincoln Legend

GERALD N. GROB

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It is probable that the life of Abraham Lincoln will always stand as a mystical symbol of man's greatness and tragedy in the eyes of the American people. When the 150th anniversary of his birth was celebrated on February 12, 1959, people from all walks of life and from all over the world joined in paying homage to the individual whom many consider to have been the greatest of all Americans. Perhaps Carl Sandburg, one of the outstanding of all Lincoln biographers, expressed most eloquently the popular attitude in a moving speech before a joint session of Congress. "Not often in the story of mankind does a man arrive on earth who is both steel and velvet, who is as hard as rock and soft as drifting fog, who holds in his heart and mind the paradox of terrible storm and peace unspeakable and perfect," Sandburg told an unusually attentive audience. "Here and there across centuries come reports of men alleged to have these contrasts. And the incomparable Abraham Lincoln, born 150 years ago this day, is an approach if not a perfect realization of this character. . . . Millions there are who take him as a personal treasure. He had something they would like to see spread everywhere over the world. Democracy? We can't find words to say exactly what it is, but he had it. In his blood and bones he carried it. In the breath of his speeches and writings it is there. Popular government? Republican institutions? Government where the people have the say-so, one way or another telling their elected leaders what they want? He had the idea. It's there in the lights and shadows of his personality, a mystery that can be lived but never fully spoken in words."¹

Sandburg's stirring words were echoed by countless others throughout this nation as

well as in other countries. People might disagree on many topics; few of them would challenge Lincoln's claim to greatness.

Yet while we of the twentieth century extol and revere Lincoln's greatness, accepting it as an undisputed fact, this was not always the case. Lincoln's contemporaries, for example, were much less kind when they spoke about their wartime president, and their estimates about him would today seem almost blasphemous. They characterized him in such adjectives as inadequate, weak, vacillating, and they even accused him of imbecility. In 1862, less than a year after Lincoln had taken office, an irate citizen wrote to his senator that the Republican party in Illinois was "nearly paralyzed by the imbecility of President Lincoln in the management of the war. . . . No Republican in Illinois doubts the honesty . . . of Abe Lincoln, yet his . . . opposition to striking rebellion where a blow is . . . effectual, has utterly destroyed all confidence in his statesmanship. . . . Nothing is more common than to hear men who did all in their power for the election of Abe Lincoln . . . say that Lincoln has done more to aid Secession, than Jefferson Davis has done. Were the trial made today, Mr. Lincoln would not receive one in ten of the votes given him in Illinois in the late presidential election."² An even harsher opinion was expressed by the successful and influential New York *Herald*, edited by the renowned James Gordon Bennett, in an editorial published on February 19, 1864. "President Lincoln is a joke incarnated. His election was a very sorry joke. The idea that such a man as he should be the President of such a country as this is a very ridiculous joke. The manner in which he first entered Washington—after having fled from Harrisburg in a Scotch cap, a long military

cloak and a special night train—was a practical joke. His debut in Washington society was a joke; for he introduced himself and Mrs. Lincoln as ‘the long and short of the Presidency.’ His inaugural address was a joke, since it was full of promises which he has never performed. . . . All his State papers are jokes. . . . The style in which he winks at frauds in the War Department, frauds in the Navy Department . . . and frauds in every department, is a costly joke. His intrigues to secure a renomination and the hopes he appears to entertain of a re-election are, however, the most laughable jokes of all.”³

And so the refrain went. Even those who spoke of Lincoln in kinder words generally apologized for his actions. The prevailing consensus during his lifetime, therefore, was that he was at best a mediocrity; at his worst he was a total failure and a menace. Even in death the disparagement of the wartime president did not cease. “The decease of Mr. Lincoln is a great national bereavement,” conceded a member of the House of Representatives, “but I am not so sure it is so much of a national loss.”⁴ George W. Julian, a prominent Republican leader, later remarked that “while everybody was shocked at his murder, the feeling was nearly universal that the accession of Johnson to the Presidency would prove a godsend to the country.”⁵

Yet within a few short years after his death, a legend began to emerge, a legend that has come to exercise a not inconsiderable influence in our own time. At the outset this legend was confined to partisan Republicans, who used it for political advantage. Today, however, Lincoln has risen above partisan considerations, and is acclaimed by all Americans as common property. Without passing judgment as to whether the high place posterity has accorded to Lincoln is merited, I would like for a moment to explore the development of the Lincoln legend after 1865.

While Lincoln during his lifetime had not achieved popularity either in government or military circles, he had somehow in death

caught the popular fancy. Politicians on all sides of the fence, therefore, attempted to capitalize on the martyred president. The Republicans, of course, were in perhaps the best position, and they proceeded to put Lincoln’s death to good use. A funeral procession, beginning on April 21 and lasting until May 4, and covering seventeen hundred miles, reminded the American people of the debt that they owed to the departed president—and the Republican party. Many orators hinted darkly that the Democrats (the “party of treason”) were responsible for the tragedy. In life many Republicans had ridiculed Lincoln; in death they used him as a symbol of national unity. In the words of one commentator, the death of Lincoln aroused the whole North, united hearts and hands of the people, and “made them resolve, and swear on the altar of their country, and over the mangled body of the dead President, to maintain this Union, one and inseparable.”⁶

During the entire Reconstruction period from 1865 to 1877 all of the rival factions within the Republican party attempted to present themselves as the logical heirs of the Lincoln mantle. To attract Negro voters into the Republican party, for example, the picture of Lincoln the Emancipator was alluded to time after time. Even those of Lincoln’s former associates who had been highly critical of many of his policies did not hesitate to present themselves as his true heirs. During every election in the last quarter of the nineteenth century Republicans continued to capitalize on the Lincoln legend. The first Lincoln Day rally was held on February 12, 1887, and since that time these gatherings have become annual affairs to impress the faithful with the virtues of their party. Over and over politicians reiterated the claim that the Republican party, being the party of Abraham Lincoln, merited the support of all loyal and patriotic Americans.

By the turn of the century, however,—perhaps because the Republicans had been too efficient in their perpetuation of the Lincoln legend—Lincoln himself had become more of a national than a party symbol.

Indeed, he had become a representation of sacrifice, a man who had given his life in defense of the country. As such, he was even acclaimed a hero by the side whom his efforts had been instrumental in defeating. The mystical implications of the death sacrifice were repeated numerous times in the addresses given year after year throughout the country, and some went even so far as to compare Lincoln's career with the Christian theme of atonement and redemption. Shortly after Lincoln's assassination a Baptist minister declared that "it is no blasphemy against the Son of God and the Saviour of men that we declare the fitness of the slaying of the second Father of our Republic on the anniversary of the day on which He was slain. Jesus Christ died for the world, Abraham Lincoln died for his country."⁷ Lincoln's secretary and later secretary of state under McKinley and Roosevelt, John Hay, referred to Lincoln as "the greatest character since Christ," and few denied the validity of the comparison.⁸

In our own time it has become both fashionable and customary to invoke the spirit of Lincoln to justify the wisdom of certain policies. During the great depression of the 1930's, for example, the harassed President Hoover found a chorus of voices speaking in favor of a more widespread utilization of the machinery of the federal government in order to solve the problems facing the American people. In responding to these criticisms of his policy, the President remarked that this "was not the government that Lincoln sought to build. . . . Victory over this depression and over our other difficulties will be won by the resolution of our people to fight their own battles in their own communities, by stimulating their ingenuity to solve their own problems, by taking new courage to be masters of their own destiny in the struggle of life. This is not the easy way, but it is the American way. And it was Lincoln's way."⁹

Hoover's interpretation of Lincoln, however, did not go unchallenged. In 1938 President Roosevelt directly took issue with his predecessor. Identifying Lincoln as being

in the liberal tradition because of his espousal of majority rule and belief in the right and duty of government to do for people what they could not do for themselves, Roosevelt then claimed Lincoln for the Democrats, since it was that party which was perpetuating the liberal tradition.¹⁰ Going even further, the President asked: "Does anyone maintain that the Republican party from 1868 to 1938 was the party of Abraham Lincoln?"¹¹ Roosevelt's point was frequently appropriated by his fellow party members, who now professed to see in Lincoln the predecessor of the New Deal. "The New Deal," proclaimed Henry A. Wallace, "is Abraham Lincoln preaching freedom for the oppressed."¹² Such use of Lincoln angered many Republicans, and they were quick to deny the validity of the comparison. Reasserting the Republican claim to Lincoln, ex-President Hoover angrily answered President Roosevelt in 1939 by declaring that "whatever this New Deal system is, it is certain that it did not come from Abraham Lincoln."¹³

Clearly, the image of Lincoln has become an absolute necessity for political responsibility in the United States. In every national election all candidates with monotonous regularity invoke the Lincoln magic by portraying themselves as the true heir of the immortal President. Even the Communist party has felt constrained to assert its intellectual affinity to Lincoln by holding annual Lincoln-Lenin rallies. And in 1936 Earl Browder, the leader of the party, announced that if "the tradition of Lincoln is to survive, if his words shall play a role in political life today, this will be due not to the Republicans nor to the Democrats, but to the modern representatives of historical progress, the Communists. Today, it is left to the Communist Party to revive the words of Lincoln."¹⁴

No doubt countless other instances of the manner in which the name of Lincoln has been utilized in order to justify a program or course of action can be cited, but their length would simply reinforce this point. Today the name of Abraham Lincoln can-

not be separated from that of his native country, and to most Americans Lincoln is America. From the rocky and picturesque landscape of New England to the lowland and tidewater of the South to the seemingly endless plains and lofty mountains of the West, Abraham Lincoln is revered as a saint, if not worshiped as a deity. In a certain sense the affection of Americans for Lincoln represents an unconscious yearning, for in the Lincoln legend are to be found those qualities which Americans profess to be most desirable. In fact, Lincoln has assumed the role of a father-image to many people, even to those who know little or nothing about his career.

And yet the problem of discovering the sources of Lincoln's greatness has not, I think, yet been fully solved. A quick perusal of the vast body of literature bearing the euphonious title of *Lincolnia* reveals that while few, if any, would deny Lincoln's essential greatness, still fewer would agree on the *nature* of his greatness. To many Lincoln stands as a bulwark of the American democratic tradition; others look upon him as an embodiment of the common people; some worship him as an emancipator of an enslaved people; still others have interpreted his career as justifying the image of the self-made individual rising in life through ambition, talent, and drive. In death Abraham Lincoln has become all things to all men. The late Benjamin P. Thomas in his delightful book *Portrait for Posterity: Lincoln and His Biographers* has depicted the varied ways in which biographers have interpreted Lincoln. Yet Thomas was forced to conclude that even those who tried to approach the Lincoln theme with an open-minded attitude in the end had a feeling of failure, for "there was something about the man that the most probing technique could not always penetrate."¹⁵

Are we, therefore, forced to accept the identification of the Lincoln legend with the career of Abraham Lincoln? Is there no way of separating myth from reality? No doubt the problem is at the very least an extremely complex one, but by no means an unsolvable

one. Witness, for example, the brilliant beginnings made by David Donald in his highly provocative volume *Lincoln Reconsidered* (1956), a book that merits a high position on any Lincoln bookshelf. As Donald tacitly indicates, the very fact that Lincoln's career cannot be easily classified or defined or fitted into a mold goes far in explaining the source of his greatness and the extent of his achievement. The fact is that Lincoln possessed the rare ability of making divers people and interests identify themselves with him. Or to put it another way, Lincoln can best be understood if we look at his actions as those of a practical politician, or even an opportunist. For, as he told John Hay at the beginning of the Civil War, "My policy is to have no policy."

No doubt many would be shocked or even offended at the suggestion that Lincoln can best be characterized as an opportunistic politician. In the United States, generally speaking, the term politician is often used in a disparaging sense, and many make a clear distinction between a statesman (a man with high and lofty principles) and a politician (one who lacks principles or scruples). Yet such a comparison is an unfair one. Indeed, a much better case can be made for the desirability of having a politician rather than a man of principles in a position of public responsibility.

I do not mean to imply, of course, that politicians lack principles; within a broad framework of reference they too possess certain unchanging standards and values. But a politician is much more likely to recognize that society is not a compact unit; that antagonistic pressures do exist within the body politic; that what constitutes a solution today will tomorrow be valueless, if not dangerous; and that his function is to forge somehow a program which, while satisfying nobody, will still prevent people from becoming so dissatisfied as to revolt openly. After all, in human affairs choices are very rarely between absolutes of black and white, good and bad, and the statesman-politician will generally deal with problems in practical rather than abstract or theoretical

terms. A man of principle, on the other hand, all too often judges man and events in terms of black and white, and he is much less likely to compromise. Frequently such a man will be a fanatic.

To my mind, therefore, Abraham Lincoln represents the ideal example of the successful politician. He has become the common property of all Americans precisely for this reason, namely, that in lacking any hard and fast beliefs or programs he could appeal to diverse and even opposing groups. This generalization can be better understood by examining Lincoln's actions in some typical instances.

Most people are doubtlessly familiar with the picture of "Lincoln the Emancipator," the man who was responsible for freeing the more than three million Negro slaves. Yet in the popular mind the circumstances under which Lincoln came to issue his now-renowned Emancipation Proclamation are less well known. At the outset of the Civil War Lincoln announced that the purpose of the war was to save the Union. "My paramount object in this struggle," he wrote to Horace Greeley in 1862, "is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. . . . What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union."¹⁶ Nevertheless, Lincoln was caught in an embarrassing and even potentially dangerous situation. On the one side were the abolitionists demanding emancipation as their price for supporting the war; on the other side were the four border states of Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Delaware insisting that he protect their peculiar institution.

What was Lincoln to do in such a situation? He needed the support of both groups, and any action that he took could alienate one side or another. Lincoln, therefore, acted in a characteristic manner; he did virtually nothing. Strictly speaking, he did advance some recommendations. He suggested the idea of compensated emancipation, to be followed by deportation and colonization of the

freed Negro. Although totally unrealistic, this pronouncement encouraged the abolitionists to think that the President might come around to their way of thinking (Wendell Phillips remarked that the President was growing "because we have watered him"¹⁷); it also strengthened the border states in their belief that Lincoln sympathized with their position. After two years of war, however, all the important segments of Northern opinion had come to the conclusion that emancipation was a military and political necessity, and only then did Lincoln act. The Emancipation Proclamation was indeed a masterpiece of political strategy, both as to its timing and essentially conservative nature. Lincoln felt that it was his greatest achievement, remarking on one occasion that "*it is the central act of my administration, and the great event of the nineteenth century.*"¹⁸ But, as he also admitted in 1864, "I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me."¹⁹

Lincoln applied his policy of political passivity to most of the other major problems confronting his administration. Most Americans, to cite another instance, feel that the debacle of the Reconstruction process under Grant and the radical Republicans was due to their having abandoned Lincoln's wise and moderate proposals. Yet a close examination of the situation reveals the fact that Lincoln was not committed prior to his death to any hard and fast policy. When Congress passed the Wade-Davis bill in 1864, a measure that adopted a "hard" line in regard to the seceded states, Lincoln pocket-vetoed it. At the same time Lincoln also explained that while he was unprepared to be "inflexibly committed to any single plan of restoration," he was nevertheless "fully satisfied with the system for restoration contained in the Bill, as one very proper plan for the loyal people of any State choosing to adopt it."²⁰ Certainly these were not the words of an individual completely wedded to a particular policy or course of action.

Finally, it should also be pointed out that Lincoln was a brilliant and astute man-

ager of the political machine. He recognized the importance as well as the necessity of patronage as an integral part of the political process, and did not hesitate to use this weapon to hold his party together or to get support for particular measures. "It seems that Mr. Lincoln," observed one writer during the election campaign of 1864, "is determined to have a Congress elected in his personal interest, and has been using his power and patronage unsparingly to that end."²¹ Similarly, Lincoln was not averse to using his appointive power to gain support from the nation's press, and seems to have chosen more newspaper men for government positions than any of his predecessors. After Lincoln's victory in 1860, practically every single presidential officeholder was removed from office, and they were replaced by loyal Republicans. And in making appointments Lincoln was careful to consult with members of Congress, party leaders, and state officials. Essentially a practical politician, Lincoln used the patronage to forge a united party out of diverse and at times conflicting groups in order to pursue the larger goal of winning the war, preserving the Union, and maintaining unbroken the dominance of the Republican party.

The Lincoln legend has tended, unfortunately, to obscure the practicality of Lincoln's art of statesmanship. Unlike many other political leaders, Lincoln refused to accept ideological or doctrinaire approaches to human problems. He preferred to face situations and facts as they really existed, and not as he would have them exist. He also recognized frankly the complexities of human affairs, and never formulated all-encompassing programs to meet every eventuality; rather he dealt with individual situations as they arose. Demonstrating flexibility in all his dealings, he rarely made pledges against the future that he could not honor. Above all, he recognized the limitations of mortal men, and always admitted that as a human being, he possessed all of the frailties and weaknesses—as well as the strength—of that species. Holding such a tragic view of human nature and destiny, Lincoln realized the in-

herent limitations upon human action. "Men moving only in an official circle," he told a friend, "are apt to become merely official—not to say arbitrary—in their ideas, and are apter and apter with each passing day to forget that they only hold power in a representative capacity."²² While exercising extensive power, Lincoln never forgot his own shortcomings, and thus he never acted from a sense of moral self-righteousness. His strength, paradoxically, lay in his weakness, and his actions as a practical politician merits a place in the front ranks of statesmen. Surely in Lincoln's career the real outshines the legend.

¹ *New York Times*, February 13, 1959, p. 20.

² J. G. Randall, *Lincoln the Liberal Statesman* (New York, 1947), p. 68.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

⁴ David Donald, *Lincoln Reconsidered* (New York, 1956), p. 4.

⁵ George W. Julian, *Political Recollections 1840 to 1872* (Chicago, 1884), p. 255.

⁶ Justus T. Umstead, *A Nation Humbled and Exalted: Discourse on the Death of Lincoln* (West Chester, 1865), p. 14.

⁷ Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (4 vols.: New York, 1939), IV, 361.

⁸ Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York, 1948), p. 92.

⁹ William S. Myers, ed., *The State Papers and Other Public Writings of Herbert Hoover* (2 vols.: New York, 1934), I, 503-04.

¹⁰ *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt . . . 1938 Volume* (New York, 1941), pp. xxix-xxx.

¹¹ Cited in Herbert Hoover, *Further Addresses Upon the American Road 1938-1940* (New York, 1940), p. 60.

¹² Henry A. Wallace, *Democracy Reborn* (New York, 1944), p. 254.

¹³ Hoover, *Further Addresses . . . 1938-1940*, p. 60.

¹⁴ Earl Browder, *The People's Front* (New York, 1938), p. 189.

¹⁵ Benjamin P. Thomas, *Portrait for Posterity: Lincoln and his Biographers* (New Brunswick, 1947), p. x.

¹⁶ Roy Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (8 vols.: New Brunswick, 1953), V, 388.

¹⁷ Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition*, p. 128.

¹⁸ F. B. Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1866), p. 90.

¹⁹ *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, VII, 282.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 433.

²¹ Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage* (New York, 1943), p. 284.

²² Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition*, p. 133.

Presbyterianism, Toleration, and the Parliaments of Charles II

GLENN WEAVER

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When Charles II made his way from Dover harbor to Whitehall Palace late in May of 1660, the English Presbyterians had high hopes of realizing their plans for a Church of England which would include all but the most radical of Dissenting sects. It was upon Charles himself that these hopes were pinned, for the restored monarch was apparently inclined to tolerate differences of religious belief. At Breda he had already promised liberty of conscience for all whose views did not disturb the peace of the realm.¹ Furthermore, if Charles had any religion at all it was Deism and not Anglicanism,² and there was thus little reason to believe that the policy of Archbishop Laud and Charles I would be revived. Only one factor seemed to stand in the way—so far as the King was concerned—of almost complete comprehension: Charles' utter distaste for Presbyterianism. The Presbyterians had emerged from the Commonwealth period as the strongest of the Nonconformist groups, but Charles had already had his say regarding them, declaring that Presbyterianism was no religion for a gentleman and that, rebel for rebel, he would rather trust a Papist rebel than one of the Presbyterian variety.³

Next to the King, Edward Hyde, soon to become first Earl of Clarendon, was, as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Speaker of the House of Lords, the most powerful man in England. Although he was a zealous Anglican and would personally have preferred a return to the Laudian system,⁴ he at first favored comprehension—at least to include the Presbyterians who had been so useful in aiding Charles' return. In October of 1660

Clarendon even proposed a revision of the Prayer Book, concessions in ritual, and a modified episcopacy which would have provided for both bishops and synods and which in reality would have meant a modified Presbyterian church rather than a modification of the Anglican system.⁵

While the number of Englishmen who really desired either toleration or comprehension was, during the reign of Charles II, never very large, the Presbyterians had reason to rejoice when late in 1660 Charles, realizing that there must be some sort of compromise between Anglicans and Presbyterians (acting doubtless on Clarendon's suggestions) appointed, as the first step toward comprehension, ten Presbyterian divines as Royal chaplains and even condescended to hear their sermons. Furthermore, the king arranged for a conference of leading Presbyterian and Anglican clergy. While the conference was in session, the Independents petitioned the king for freedom of worship, and Charles used the occasion to reassure all sects that freedom should be enjoyed so long as there were no breach of the peace.⁶

Bright as the future for the Dissenters appeared, however, the discussions at the Savoy were far from peaceful. Richard Baxter, a leading Presbyterian supporter, insisted that there be no toleration for either Roman Catholics or Unitarians and his obstinacy almost "scuttled" the affair.⁷ However, the conference was able to agree upon certain liturgical concessions and had even made some attempts at securing recognition of the validity of Presbyterian ordination. Parliament had been adjourned in mid-

September and during the recess Charles himself issued on October 25 a "Declaration Concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs" in which the concessions in ritual and polity agreed upon by the conference were clearly stated. When Parliament resumed on November 6 the king was thanked for his "Declaration" and after some debate in the Commons a motion to make an Act confirming it was seconded.⁸ On November 28 the bill had its first reading but the ensuing debate revealed that many members objected to its terms on the grounds that it unjustly deprived the Bishops of the powers of their office and that it would be the cause of much rejoicing among the Papists since—according to the bill's opponents—only chaos could result. Others objected merely to enacting a bill which would write into law a royal declaration. In view of these sentiments it is hardly surprising that a vote to give the measure a second reading was defeated by a vote of 183 to 157.⁹

The general election of 1661 brought fewer Presbyterians to Parliament, but Clarendon and Charles, still hoping to achieve some form of comprehension or toleration, called a second conference of divines, which conference was still in session when Parliament assembled on May 8.¹⁰ Reduced numbers of Presbyterians did not necessarily preclude the acceptance of a new plan for comprehension. Other developments, however, weakened the Presbyterian cause; the Commons was informed of a "Presbyterian plot" brewing in Worcester and receiving support in other shires.¹¹ Perhaps the charges of a plot against the king's life were exaggerated, but nevertheless Parliament quickly turned from its earlier position of condoning dissent to one of outright persecution.

The first of the four Parliamentary Acts against the Dissenters (which are together known as the Clarendon Code)—the Corporation Act—was passed in December 1661. With this act, as with the later ones, Clarendon himself had little to do,¹² and, in light of his early policy of conciliation, it may indeed be questioned whether, regarding this bill which required all officers of the municipi-

pal corporation to take an oath of Allegiance and Supremacy and to make a declaration against the Solemn League and Covenant,¹³ Clarendon might not have been carried along by the ecclesiastics against his better judgment.¹⁴ Surely the act revealed to all Dissenters that Parliament was intent on eradicating the political implications of Presbyterianism. Other measures already taken by Parliament revealed that not only Presbyterianism as a political force was doomed, but all other forms of dissent as well. Members of Parliament were required to take the Sacrament according to the Anglican form and soon a bill "To Prevent the ill consequences to the Government, by the Quakers, Anabaptists, and other Schismatics, refusing to take Oaths . . ." was prepared.¹⁵ Obviously, this latter was intended to harm the Quakers in particular, and these petitioned the House of Lords requesting that the new spirit of persecution be allayed.¹⁶

That the Anglican position was to be supreme was further attested to by the fact that in 1661 the Bishops were restored to their seats in the House of Lords,¹⁷ and also by the introduction and passage of an Act of Uniformity according to which "every Parson, Vicar, or other Minister," was obliged to declare "unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every thing Contained and prescrib'd in and by the Book entitled the Book of Common-Prayer."¹⁸ These measures were followed by the Conventicle Act of 1664 which forbade the clergy who were ejected under the Act of Uniformity from organizing independent congregations and of the Five Mile Act of 1665 which forbade the ejected clergy to come within five miles of any municipality or parish where they had formerly held a living. Strong measures were these, and both legally and logically Dissent should have died a natural death. Opposition, however, flared up almost from the time of the passage of the Act of Uniformity.

The king was soon found to be the most ardent champion of Dissent. In May, 1662, almost immediately after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, Charles tried to suspend

its operation for three months, only to be thwarted in the attempt by the opposition of the Bishops and the constitutional lawyers.¹⁹ Unwilling to accept defeat, Charles, in December of the same year issued his first Declaration of Indulgence, in which he stated that—should Parliament concur—the sovereign would exercise the powers he claimed to be inherent in the Crown to dispense with some parts of the Act of Uniformity.²⁰

On February 18, 1663, Charles opened the third session of his second Parliament with a speech in which he expressed a desire to show indulgence to Dissenters and also defended his Declaration, arguing that religious persecution belonged to a former time. While the king insisted that he had no desire to favor Popery and assured Parliament of his "zeal for the Protestant Religion," he also reminded them that Roman Catholics had been of such service both to his father (Charles I) and to himself as to expect whatever favors be granted to Protestant Dissenters. The king's short speech ended with a request that the Dissenters—by Parliament's refusal to grant liberty of conscience—be given no cause to conspire against the Government.²¹

The Commons received both speech and Declaration coldly and presented the king with an "Address" in which serious issue was taken with the proposals for toleration. The Commons pointed out a number of reasons why no exceptions should be made to the Act of Uniformity and why Dissent should be given no quarter. It was asserted that the king's Declaration from Breda was in no way binding upon Parliament, especially as there were at the time of the Declaration (1660) laws of Uniformity already in effect and which could be dispensed with only by an act of Parliament. Furthermore, should the more recent Declaration be enacted into law, not only would the peculiar province of Parliament be invaded by the monarch but so also would schism be legally established, and thus both expose the king to the importunities of all those who would have the least bit of dissatisfaction with the Church of England

and at the same time strengthen the sects at the expense of "the true Protestant profession."²²

Whether the Commons' reaction to the speech and the Declaration was expected by Charles cannot, of course, be known, but his reply to the address of the Commons, however, was conciliatory. Both houses immediately, and possibly to test the king's "zeal for the Protestant Religion," petitioned Charles regarding the Jesuits and Romish priests who had recently come to England, Ireland, and Scotland, asking that they be expelled from the realm upon a day's notice. The king in his reply, while admitting that he had been lenient toward Roman Catholics for reasons already stated, promised Parliament to take effective measures to deal with the increase of Popery.²³ Parliament, nevertheless, permitted itself to take no chance with Charles' sympathies for the Romanists. The above mentioned Conventicle and Five Mile Acts were as much directed against Roman Catholics as against Dissenting Protestants since the Roman Catholics of England, like the Protestant Nonconformists, met in small groups in private homes and then usually in secret.

Most Englishmen believed that Charles had reasons other than gratitude for services rendered in his sympathies with the Roman Catholics. Indeed, it was to be questioned whether Charles would have favored Protestant dissent at all if he had not hoped thereby to gain similar recognition for the Church of Rome.²⁴ To one who attached so little importance to moral or spiritual values it would have made little difference whether one paid lip service to one creed or another, and to Charles, while he found Roman Catholicism "as comfortable a companion for monarchy as any other,"²⁵ there was no inherent reason why any preference should have been shown for the Church of Rome when other faiths might have proven to be equally "comfortable." There were, however, other factors which doubtless helped to incline Charles' sympathy toward this church whose theological doctrines he could not possibly have accepted. The long stay in

France during which he had seen the church wink at the licentiousness of the Court of Louis XIV had telling effect. The fact that the Church of Rome was the Church of both his own mother and his sister, Henrietta, as well as his friends of the exile, also contributed. Although it was not at the time known in England, Charles had, while in exile, promised the Pope to restore Roman Catholicism, and the king had certainly every intention of keeping his promise.²⁶

Even before the Restoration there were many doubts expressed in England regarding the king's religious preference, so that the Presbyterians, who were placing their future hopes in Charles, felt obliged to publish testimonials from "several foreign Divines" to the effect that the soon-to-be-restored monarch was not a Papist.²⁷ As the Papists in general, and the Jesuits in particular, constantly prodded Charles to relieve their situation,²⁸ the king had attempted as a first step to achieve either general toleration or at least some sort of comprehension by the processes described above.

Perhaps the kind words for the Roman Catholics which Charles spoke in Parliament in February, 1663, blinded the Anglicans to any other possible royal motive for toleration. Charles, who could profit so much by stimulated trade through his right of tonnage and poundage, shared the beliefs of the liberal philosophers, the Quakers, and the economists that—as had been proven in the case of the Dutch—toleration would be beneficial to trade. To this argument the Bishops countered that the problem was one of religious principle and not one of economic benefit and consequently there must be no toleration even in the interest of an expanded commerce.²⁹

As Parliament remained obstinate, and while Charles repeatedly assured both the Lords and the Commons that those bodies were all that a monarch could desire,³⁰ the king resorted to less Parliamentary means to achieve his ends. Many Royalists in the Commons were made peers as a reward for loyal service, and the frequent by-elections

for a time brought to the Commons men who were sympathetic to the king's interests in trade and finance.³¹ Clarendon, as a matter of principle, stood by his "Code," but by 1665 his power had begun to wane, for Charles had taken care to replace Clarendon's supporters with men more favorable to the king each time a vacancy occurred. In another two years Clarendon found himself completely discredited, tried for treason, and forced to spend the remaining seven years of his life in exile.

With Clarendon thus disposed of, the foreign and domestic policies passed into the hands of the notorious Cabal, a committee of the Privy Council on foreign affairs consisting of Clifford and Arlington, who were both Roman Catholics; Buckingham, who had connections among the Independents; Ashley-Cooper, who, devoid of any religious conviction, favored toleration for all except the Fifth Monarchy Men; and Lauderdale, who, while himself a strong Anglican, had, as governor of Scotland, valuable connections with the Presbyterians.

Even before the fall of Clarendon the activities of the individuals who were to make up the Cabal had been noted. In 1664 Ashley and Arlington urged Charles to again issue a declaration of indulgence, giving two reasons for their interest: first, that the war with the Dutch would begin more auspiciously if persecutions under the Conventicle Act were stopped, and, secondly, to sell the exemptions for money would bring much revenue to the crown. The king was receptive to the idea and, upon his suggestion, Ashley and Arlington prepared a bill to be introduced to the House of Lords. When the bill was first read Clarendon denounced the proposal as being "a design against the Protestant Religion and in favour of the Papists," and although the Bishops joined the Chancellor in his protest, a second reading was agreed to as a matter of courtesy. The fact that the promoters of the bill attempted to intimidate the opposition notwithstanding, so large a portion of the House—including the Duke of York who was himself a Roman Catholic—spoke against the bill that the

question was dropped without being put to a vote.³³

This ill-fated measure had the twofold effect of renewing the bitterness toward the Papists and of bringing both Ashley and Arlington into the bad graces of the king.³⁴

During the fall of 1666 the Romanists had new cause for alarm, when a Parliamentary committee appointed to inquire into the activities of the Jesuits, after hearing the testimony of "a cloud of witnesses," demanded that the king remove all "Priests and Jesuits"—except those attending the queen-consort and the queen-mother—from the realm.³⁵

How many English Dissenters and Papists suffered under the Clarendon Code cannot be determined, and only for the Quakers, who kept the best records, can any reasonable estimate be given. In 1662 after the passage of the Quakers' Act there were about 1,300 of these in prison. It must also be remembered that the various acts were not at all times enforced with the same degree of vigilance.³⁶ One of these lulls in enforcement came in 1667 and 1668 with the coming to power of the Cabal. Nonconformists again began to meet openly, and comprehension and toleration were once more freely discussed on the street corners. This new attitude of the government revived Presbyterian hopes in particular. Sir Robert Atkins prepared a Presbyterian comprehension bill and the Presbyterians brought forth several pamphlets in its support. The Anglicans and the sectaries—the latter not to be included in the bill's benefits—countered with opposing pamphlets so that the bill was never brought into Parliament. How far the measure would have gotten in Parliament is a matter of speculation, but it is to be imagined that a bill which would have recognized the validity of both Episcopal and Presbyterian ordination and which would have permitted modifications in ritual³⁷ would have been too far advanced for the day.

Undiscouraged by this initial failure, the Presbyterians—this time joined by the sectaries—petitioned the king for toleration.

Charles, still hoping to achieve his ends of toleration for the Papists, received the petition kindly and was encouraged by the support of such Anglicans as Lord Keeper Bridgeman, Chief Baron of the Exchequer Hale, the Duke of Buckingham, and Bishop Wilkins, and also by the prominent nonconformists. A bill providing for comprehension of the Presbyterians and for toleration of the sects as well as some indulgence to the Papists was prepared by Hale.³⁸

On February 10, 1668, Charles again appeared before both houses of Parliament requesting the bodies to "seriously think of some course to beget a better union and composure in the minds of my Protestant subjects in matters of Religion," this time finding as his excuse a hope for more general support of his alliance with Sweden and the Netherlands.³⁹

Again whatever response Charles may have expected from his suggestion, the Commons, well aware of the new boldness of the Dissenters, accepted the challenge, first petitioning the king to issue a proclamation enforcing the Conventicle Act and to take such steps as may be necessary "for the preservation of the Peace against the unlawful assemblies of Papists and Nonconformists," and then followed a spirited debate during which several members spoke against the proposal. Colonel Samuel Sandys expressed fear that toleration would require a standing army to preserve peace and order; Sir Giles Strangeways argued that the problem which would arise from toleration would be too great for the government to cope with; and a Mr. Steward⁴⁰ who resided in Norfolk—a county "of much trade"—where dissent was almost unknown and where the laws against nonconformity had been rigidly enforced, said that the Clarendon Code had not in the least affected the general prosperity or disposition. Sir Thomas Meres finally asked for a vote that there be no toleration.⁴¹

Surprisingly enough, there were many who, to one degree or another, fell in with the king's support. Sir Philip Warwick suggested the possibility of "condescend-

[ing] to some indulgence . . ." and to "so relax the law, as not to lose the law." John Ratcliffe favored revising the laws by removing the stricter parts so "that an eye may be had to real tender consciences." Charles Wheeler was in favor of leniency toward the Presbyterians but had harsh things to say regarding the Independents whom he thought to include Anabaptists, Arians and Socinians. While Sir John Cotton denounced "the Presbyterian tenets . . . [as] most destructive to our government . . .," Colonel John Birch declared that basically all Protestants of England were agreed in the Christian fundamentals and that he knew of no sect except the Quakers who would not subscribe to thirty-six of the thirty-nine articles.⁴²

Even though the debates had revealed a considerable sympathy for both Presbyterians and the sectaries, the house voted against permitting the king to have the bill presented to the Commons. Furthermore, while the debates were in progress the Privy Council ordered all magistrates to enforce the laws against conventicles,⁴³ and on April 28 a bill providing for the extension of the Conventicle Act was read,⁴⁴ shortly after which Parliament was prorogued until October 19, 1669.

When Parliament reassembled, the bill for suppressing conventicles was given second reading, and battle royal followed: some of the features of the bill seemed particularly suspicious, especially the graduated scale of fines to be imposed upon offenders.⁴⁵ Colonel Birch again defended the Dissenters, insisting that it was better to have dissenting churches in the many areas where no churches of the establishment could be found.⁴⁶ On the other hand, Mr. Solicitor Finch argued that were Roman Catholicism to come to England, it would do so on the shoulders of Puritanism⁴⁷ and after Sir Robert Howard had declared a general toleration to be "a spot in any government," the bill was ordered to be committed.⁴⁸

On March 8, 1670, the Lords and the Commons joined in thanking the King for his recent order to bring Protestant Dissenters

to justice but at the same time asked that a similar order be given to enforce the laws against "Popist Recusants," and that leave be given to bring in a bill for easier and more speedy conviction of offending Papists. When three days later the petition was presented to the king, Charles promised prompt action in both cases.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, the House of Lords had added several amendments to the bill for suppressing conventicles; one of these was to guarantee that the house of any English peer should not be entered or searched except under a warrant from the king under the sign manual in the presence of the lord lieutenant of the county, while the second reiterated the king's supremacy in all affairs ecclesiastical, and these amendments—slightly modified by the Commons—were added to the bill as passed by the Commons.⁵⁰

The events of 1669-1670 followed a pattern not unlike that of nine years earlier when dissent rallied around the king only to have their hopes dashed to earth by an uncompromising Parliament, against which neither the demands of the king nor the machinations of the Cabal could do anything. The Commons, greatly pleased with the ease with which the bill for suppressing conventicles had passed, again demanded that Charles enforce the Recusancy laws and the king, as usual, complied with a declaration regarding the enforcement of the laws.⁵¹

But Charles was not beaten yet; he had promised to recognize the Roman Catholics, and recognize the Roman Catholics he *would*. To this end he had once more committed himself in the recent Treaty of Dover (in 1670) when he had also promised his benefactor, Louis XIV, that he would declare war upon the Dutch, and this, too, Charles intended to do at the earliest opportunity, for besides fulfilling his earlier promises to Louis, the imminent war afforded an occasion to put the Dissenters—who would not under ordinary circumstances endorse an alliance with a Roman Catholic nation—in a good humor, and at the same time remove the disabilities on the English Papists. In this design the king was aided by Clifford,

who had by this time become acting Secretary of State, and also by Ashley and Lauderdale. Clifford pointed out to the king that, while the Act of Uniformity could not be altered without consent of Parliament—and the trend of events during the preceding year had shown that Parliamentary consent would hardly be forthcoming—a royal proclamation could suspend all penalties for the time being, during which the Dissenters could put themselves on their good behaviour in anticipation of a more advantageous settlement. While Charles must certainly have been aware of Clifford's ultimate goal of recognition of the Papists, the king disapproved of the suggestion because he could see in it only a resultant mushrooming of conventicles. Ashley took the side of the king, but the proposal was tempting. John Locke, who was then Ashley's secretary, investigated the legality of such a declaration and reported favorably. On this basis the Declaration of Indulgence was issued on March 15, 1672,⁵² the work being done chiefly by Clifford,⁵³ even though he had as early as 1670 argued for a royal declaration in favor of Roman Catholicism as the state religion. Arlington disapproved of the Declaration, but Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale supported it enthusiastically, not as a means of Romanizing England—as Clifford must have intended it to be—but as a temporary expedient to win the support and good will of the Dissenters.⁵⁴

In substance, the Declaration of Indulgence lamented the failure of Parliamentary coercion in religious affairs to maintain internal peace during the twelve preceding years; in light of which failure the king—exercising his supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs—and while insisting that the Church of England be preserved in doctrine, discipline, and government as established by law, felt obliged to suspend the final laws against the nonconformists and to license certain places for their meeting and worship, provided the Dissenters would meet *only* in licensed places and should preach no doctrine seditious to either the state or to the Established Church. To the Roman Catholics,

however, only the suspension of the penal laws applied as they were to be permitted to worship in private homes only.⁵⁵

Immediately upon the proclamation of the Declaration, nonconformists were released from prison. These promptly applied for the licenses, of which nearly 3,400 were granted during the year the Declaration was in force. Of the nonconformist groups only the Presbyterians hesitated to make the most of the new liberty,⁵⁶ in this case probably because their goal was comprehension and *not* merely toleration. The majority of Englishmen, however, favored the penal codes, and the Declaration caused so much consternation⁵⁷ that the question soon found its way to the floors of Parliament.

Charles anticipated the protest which Parliament was to make, so on February 5, 1673, he addressed the Commons, explaining that the Declaration had been made as a measure to produce unity at home, that the part relating to the Papists had been misconstrued, and that he had no intention of interfering with the Established Church.⁵⁸ Five days after Charles' speech, the Commons, after hearing the usual *pros* and *cons*, resolved by a vote of 168 to 116 "that penal statutes, in matters ecclesiastical, cannot be suspended but by Act of Parliament." The resolution was promptly transmitted to the king.⁵⁹

When the resolution was brought to the attention of the Privy Council, the members of the Cabal, joined by the Duke of York, suggested that Parliament be dissolved and another be called in its place. Realizing, however, that this step could not be taken before adequate funds had been voted for the prosecution of the war against the Dutch, the Council suggested that as a temporary measure the House of Lords be set at loggerheads with the Commons in tactfully suggesting to the peers that the presenting of the Common's address to the king had been a deliberate slight on the privilege of the Lords.⁶⁰ While there were many dangers involved, Charles agreed to the latter suggestion and delivered a flattering address to the Lords in which he appeared to be appealing to them for advice as to what to do regarding

the resolution of the Commons. The Peers blindly fell into the trap which the Cabal had set for them,⁶¹ but while the desired bad feelings had been engendered, the Commons steadfastly refused to grant military funds until Charles would withdraw the Declaration of Indulgence. To break the embarrassing deadlock, Charles proposed a compromise whereby he agreed to temporarily abandon the Declaration in exchange for a Parliamentary act providing toleration for Protestant Dissenters only.⁶²

But the Commons, not so gullible as the Lords had been to succumb to Charles' flattery and promises, demanded of the king a full and satisfactory answer regarding the resolution. What the Commons was really demanding this time was a definite admission from the king that he had neither inherent nor statutory power to suspend the Acts of Parliament.⁶³ Not content to wait idly for Charles' reply, the Commons continued to debate the question of toleration, some members agreeing in principle to the idea, with others arguing for a bill which would exclude from public office all who would refuse to receive the Sacrament according to the liturgy of the Church of England and who would refuse to anathematize the doctrine of Transubstantiation.⁶⁴ Although the case for the Dissenters received unprecedented support, the idea of a general toleration failed to gain adherents. By March 7, 1673, the matter came to a head when both houses of Parliament presented a joint address to the king against the increase of Roman Catholicism within the realm.⁶⁵

The following day, realizing that not only the Commons was against him but the Lords as well, Charles announced the withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence. While the announcement was made to both houses, it was to the Commons that he turned and, regarding the withdrawal as his part of an agreed-to bargain, asked that the pending money bill be passed at once.⁶⁶

Having won this case, the Commons passed the desired bill, but they also continued the debates on the Test Act. When

the Test Act was brought before the Lords, the debates took an unusual turn. The Earl of Bristol—himself a Roman Catholic—while indicating that he would vote against the bill as a matter of principle, urged its passage as being in the best interests of the country. Clifford, true to form, denounced the measure, but on the strange grounds of its being prejudicial to the authority of both the Peers and the Anglican Establishment. After Clifford had spoken his piece, he was soundly denounced by Ashley who had by this time become the first Earl of Shaftesbury.⁶⁷

In the Commons, too, Clifford was denounced—there by Lord Cavendish and by one Scheverell; Clifford, however, was defended in the Commons by Colonel Sandys, the old defender of Dissent, and also by Sir Edward Wyndham and Sir John Barnaby.⁶⁸ Within a week, in an effort to save Clifford from impeachment, Charles prorogued Parliament but only after he had given his consent to the Test Act.⁶⁹

The effects of the Test Act were felt almost immediately. Clifford and the Duke of York were, because of this refusal to take the "Test," among those forced out of office—the former from the Treasury and the latter from the Admiralty;⁷⁰ the Act had been brought about by concerted action of moderate Churchmen and Dissenters, and this alliance between those two was to continue;⁷¹ the Cabal had been driven from power; and the course of events revealed to all—including the king—that any attempt to make over England into a Roman Catholic state would be futile.⁷²

If fear of toleration of Roman Catholicism had prevented comprehension at an earlier date, the way now seemed clear for a relief to Protestant Dissenters. In February, 1674, a bill was prepared which, while it would have required continuation of the proscription of the Solemn League and Covenant, would have repealed certain parts of the Act of Uniformity. But before the bill could become law, Parliament was prorogued. Nevertheless, common distrust of French interference in English affairs kept the moderate

Churchmen and the Dissenters on good terms—a remarkable thing in view of the fact that the government (prodded by the Bishops) continued to enforce the law against Conventicles.⁷³ On October 13, 1675, the Duke of Buckingham took up the cause of the Dissenters in the House of Lords, so moving the House as to bring about the direction to prepare a bill for the relief of Dissenters. The bill came to nought, however, for the Commons was at the time engaged with other matters⁷⁴ and shortly thereafter Parliament was again prorogued.⁷⁵

With this defeat the plight of the Dissenters worsened. The government in most localities strictly enforced the Corporation and the Conventicle Acts, and the Quakers in particular became the targets of legal abuse, some of these even being convicted as Popish recusants. In Scotland, too, the Conventicle Act was being enforced with a new severity,⁷⁶ and not until 1679 could the Dissenters again make their cause heard.

In that year the question of toleration became a primary issue in the Parliamentary election, and the Dissenters pleaded for repeal of the Dissenters statute (35 Elizabeth, c. 1) as well as the Corporation and Conventicle Acts,⁷⁷ and once more the Dissenters and moderate Churchmen entered into an alliance against Popery and Stuart absolutism. The Dissenters capitalized on the "Popish Plot" and openly boasted in the Coffee-houses that they would soon "make the clergy put aside their surplices."⁷⁸ Quite in contrast to the conditions of the four preceding years, the Dissenters turned out at the elections *en masse* and in some places took the situation into their own hands. In Essex, for example, the clergy who appeared at the polling places were rudely handled, being thrown from their horses, and having their gowns torn, and dirt thrown in their faces.⁷⁹

Without doubt, the influence of the Dissenters was responsible—in part—for the nature and personnel of the new Parliament. Thus they were not slow to demand their pound of flesh and a new relief drive was organized at once. Early in November of

1680 the Commons once more took up an act to unite "His Majesty's Protestant subjects." In the course of the debates on the bill several members of the Commons denounced the practice of the preceding year of arresting Protestant Dissenters under the recusancy laws which had been originally directed against Papists. The activities of the Dissenters in the election were invoked and it was further ordered that a bill to repeal all or a part of the Elizabethan statute against Dissent was ordered.⁸⁰ This bill proceeded so far as to receive approval of both the Lords and the Commons, but when Parliament was dissolved the measure was abandoned, not being revived by the succeeding Parliament.

By this time aggressive Presbyterian efforts toward comprehension had ceased. As a sort of anti-climax, in 1683 the Presbyterians joined the other Dissenters in an attempt to secure from the Lord Chief Justice a *habeas corpus* for those imprisoned for violation of the laws covering conformity. The effect of these efforts was merely to incite a stricter enforcement of the laws.⁸¹

With the death of Charles II, on February 6, 1685, James, Duke of York, ascended the English throne as James II. The new monarch was, of course, a Papist, and the Presbyterians were faced with several unpleasant alternatives. The new monarch could be supported in the hope that Presbyterianism would benefit by whatever general indulgence James would proclaim in behalf of his co-religionists, or—as there was little indication that Parliament would modify the laws against dissent and thus advance the cause of the Papists—the King could be opposed and assistance could be given to those extremists who would be certain to advance the cause of the Duke of Monmouth. In the summer of 1685, Monmouth and the Duke of Argyll began the anticipated Rebellion. But even Argyll failed to arouse the Scottish Covenanters to the cause; Monmouth could not even make a religious issue of the Protestant succession among the English Presbyterians of the Southwest.⁸² Although the Rebellion prompted a strict enforcing of the

penal laws, James' Declaration of Indulgence of April 4, 1687, proved to be of some immediate, albeit ephemeral, benefit to the individual Presbyterians who during the next few months won Royal favor and high appointment. The Presbyterians had no illusions, however. James was playing one dissenting group against another, and was using toleration of Protestant dissent as a stepping stone to Papist toleration.⁸³

With the accession of William and Mary, the Presbyterians held no advantage such as they had at the Restoration (1660) nor even in the Parliament of 1680. At once, however, comprehension bills were drafted, and one of them (that of the Earl of Nottingham) even passed the House of Lords, only to be defeated in Commons. Although the defeated bill would have permitted Presbyterians to hold livings in the Established Church, many Presbyterians preferred toleration outside the Establishment to a precarious comprehension. After having thus lowered their sights, it would seem that the lesser goal—if toleration is a lesser goal than comprehension—was about to be realized, for in May, 1689, Parliament passed the famous Toleration Act which will be forever regarded as one of the great milestones on the way to complete religious liberty. Actually, however, the Act provided for little more than mere toleration, as, although it repealed the restrictive statutes of Elizabeth I and James I, the statutes of Charles II still remained. Presbyterians in England were still "second-class" subjects of the Crown.

Under conditions such as these, English Presbyterianism could not flourish. One-by-one the Presbyterian congregations disappeared or became independent congregations of Unitarian doctrine. The present-day Presbyterian Church in English is a nineteenth-century Scottish import having no historic connection with the Presbyterianism which fought the Parliaments of Charles II for comprehension within a national Episcopal-Presbyterian Establishment.

¹ William Cobbett, *Cobbett's Parliamentary History*

of England (36 vol., London: R. Bagshaw, 1806-1820), IV, 17.

² G. N. Clark, *The Later Stuarts 1660-1714* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 18.

³ A. S. Turberville, *Commonwealth and Restoration*, 2nd ed. (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd. 1936), p. 83, n. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁵ J. R. Tanner, *English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century, 1603-1689* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), p. 226.

⁶ Turberville, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83. Baxter was not blindly committed to a Presbyterian polity. He may have been willing to accept a modified Episcopalianism. Article, "Richard Baxter," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition.

⁸ Cobbett, IV, 131-142.

⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 152-154.

¹⁰ James Ralph, *The History of England* (2 vols., London: F. Cogan and T. Waller, 1744), I, 42.

¹¹ Cobbett, IV, 224-227.

¹² J. R. Tanner, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

¹³ Cobbett, IV, 227-228.

¹⁴ G. N. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁵ Ralph, *op. cit.*, I, 44-46; c.f., Cobbett, IV, 208-209, 233.

¹⁶ Ralph, *op. cit.*, I, 46.

¹⁷ *History and Proceedings of the House of Lords from the Restoration in 1660 to the Present Time* (London: Ebenezer Timberlake, 1742), I, 37-38.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 43.

¹⁹ Tanner, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

²⁰ Cobbett, IV, 259.

²¹ *History and Proceedings of the House of Lords*, I, 55; Cobbett, IV, 258-260.

²² Cobbett, IV, 260-263.

²³ *Ibid.*, IV, 263-265.

²⁴ Tanner, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

²⁵ G. N. Clark, *The Later Stuarts*, p. 18.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18; A. S. Turberville, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

²⁷ Ralph, *op. cit.*, I, 6.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 46.

²⁹ G. N. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

³⁰ This may be followed in *Parliamentary Papers; Consisting of a Collection of Kings Speeches . . .* (3 vols., London: J. Debrett, 1797), I, *passim*.

³¹ Tanner, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

³² Cobbett, IV, 311-315; Tanner, *op. cit.*, p. 234; Turberville, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Cyril Hughes Hartman, *Clifford of the Cabal* (London: William Heineman Ltd., 1937, pp. 136-137).

³³ Cobbett, IV, 311-314.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 314-315.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 334.

³⁶ Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³⁷ Charles F. Mullett, "Toleration and Persecution in England, 1660-89," *Church History*, XVIII (March, 1949), 22.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23. Hale was, incidentally, a close friend of Richard Baxter. He had signed the Solemn League and Covenant and was sympathetic to a Presbyterian polity. Article, "Sir Matthew Hale," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition.

³⁹ Cobbett, IV, 404.

⁴⁰ There were two Stewards sitting in the Commons at the time: Robert, for Castle-Rising, and John, for Midhurst. Cobbett, IV, 195, 198.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 414-420.

⁴² *Ibid.*, IV, 413-421.

⁴³ Mullett, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁴⁴ Cobbett, IV, 422.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 444.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 445-446.
⁴⁷ Grey, *Debates*, I, 162.
⁴⁸ Cobbett, IV, 446.
⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 446.
⁵⁰ Anchitell Grey, *Debates in the House of Commons*, I, 245-250.
⁵¹ Cobbett, IV, 476-479.
⁵² Louise Fargo Brown, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1933), pp. 195-196.
⁵³ Mullett, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
⁵⁴ Hartman, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-167, 220-221.
⁵⁵ An adequate summary is found in *History and Proceedings of the House of Lords*, I, 115-116.
⁵⁶ Mullett, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
⁵⁷ Turberville, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-121.
⁵⁸ Grey, *Debates*, II, 2-3.
⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 13-26.
⁶⁰ Hartman, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-259.
⁶¹ *History and Proceedings of the House of Lords*, I, 114-117.
⁶² Grey, *Debates*, II, 54-55.
⁶³ *Ibid.*, II, 62.
⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 63-82.
⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 90-91.
⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 91.
⁶⁷ *History and Proceedings of the House of Lords*, I, 119-124.
⁶⁸ Grey, *Debates*, II, 152-153.
⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 174-181.
⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 181; G. N. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Hartman, *op. cit.*, pp. 269, *et seq.*
⁷¹ Tanner, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
⁷² Hartman, *op. cit.*, p. 267.
⁷³ Mullett, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.
⁷⁴ *History and Proceedings of the House of Lords*, I, 164-165.
⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 184.
⁷⁶ Mullett, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.
⁷⁷ E. Lipson, "The Election to the Exclusion Parliaments 1679-1681," *English Historical Review*, XXVIII (January, 1913), p. 68.
⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77.
⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.
⁸⁰ Grey, *Debates*, VII, 422-425.
⁸¹ Mullett, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
⁸² Thomas Babington Macaulay, *History of England*, 5 vols. (New York, [n.d.]), II, Chapter V.
⁸³ Mullett, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-38.

Social Science at Mid-Century

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The social sciences, which only a century ago were non-existent or were subsumed under the philosophy departments of universities, are today firmly established as legitimate fields of scientific inquiry. Not only are they represented *per se* on university faculties, but they are included in large measure within the organizational structure of governmental and industrial institutions. They have contributed substantially to literary and artistic fields, and they are often asked to assist in the solution of various problems which modern society is called upon to examine.

Social science, however, continues today to be the subject of considerable ambivalence and controversy, ranging from a rather thorough animosity on the part of some people to a complete over-acceptance on the part of others. In its present stage of development social science has contributed some very valuable insights and generalizations to the study of human behavior though it has by no means provided a panacea to all of

man's questions and doubts. It is neither to be thoroughly rejected nor to be accepted without some critical evaluation of its own capacities. No social scientist worthy of the name would advocate uncritical acceptance and certainly he would oppose much of the criticism stemming from an unwillingness to entertain at least its basic purposes.

This report deals with the status of social science today, including its strengths and weaknesses, and what may be expected of it as time goes on. Social science includes such behavioral sciences as psychology, sociology, and anthropology, as well as political science and economics. Broadly, it is thought of as consisting of those areas which attempt to study in a systematic manner the behavior of human beings. Political science and economics are older in their development than are the behavioral sciences, and yet even they are recent arrivals to the area of systematic study. True, Plato and the other Greeks were mightily concerned with political, economic, and even social behavior, but theirs was an

individual observation rather than a standardized study of generalized human reactions to varying situations. Economics as such is roughly considered to date back to the late 18th century and specifically to Adam Smith and his classic *Wealth of Nations* published in 1776. As for behavioral sciences, psychology and sociology began in the late 19th century to break away from philosophy and physiology. Wilhelm Wundt is credited with the first psychological laboratory which he founded at Leipzig, Germany scarcely eighty years ago. Anthropology is a Twentieth Century phenomenon and may be considered an outgrowth of sociology and the older preoccupations with national differences earlier espoused in a completely unsystematic way by individuals dedicated to excessive nationalism.

As for social science as a whole and behavioral sciences in particular, it remained for a few post-Darwinian individuals to "put it on the map," so to speak, by shaking the foundations of the earlier Victorianism and the unassailable religious precepts which occupied most Western minds. Freud, in the early Twentieth Century, shocked the literate world with his straightforward observations about the motivations of man, and forced recognition of these areas as legitimate problems for study. In other words, it took an attack on the earlier view of human behavior as something sacred and beyond study to make social scientific investigation a widely accepted, provocative, and plausible province for scientific inquiry.

Among the most provocative of the new concepts to emerge was the notion of "culture." Stuart Chase discusses culture as "a body of principles . . . all revolving around the basic idea that an individual cannot be understood apart from the culture which contains him."¹ Watsonian psychology, sociology generally, and anthropology centrally, were among the disciplines which tended to stress the importance of man's social context as indispensable to the study of human behavior. Another concept of great importance which largely was pioneered by Freud was the idea of "the sub-conscious," and the

possibility or likelihood that individuals could be propelled by feelings and motivations not understood by the persons themselves. More and more such concepts arose which could be applied to man in general and which helped in an understanding of all men in terms of personal drives and motives modified by a socio-cultural context. Laws of human behavior were now seen as possible outgrowths of social science investigation, and man began to look to social science for laws of behavior in much the same way as he had learned to look to physical science for underlying laws and principles which governed the physical environment about him.

On the other hand, many did not easily abandon the older views about the study of human behavior and continued to resist the upstart of sciences. Still others who were not content to merely resist them on the older grounds of whether or not man had a "right to study" human behavior, objected to such study as being too difficult to achieve. Lundberg and others in their discussion enumerate some of these points, stating that "there are those who claim that anything as complex and unpredictable as human behavior is not amenable to scientific analysis."² Actually, such seemingly pessimistic views were not without their merit since they tempered somewhat some of the apparent excesses to which the behaviorist psychologists under Watson had tended in claiming virtually that environment alone could account for all human behavior, with little regard to the influence of heredity on later development.

Among the difficulties which face social science today, there are several which are inherent in the theoretical orientation of science in general. One such consideration deals with an early controversy between "pure and applied" science. Psychology, perhaps more than any other, has been faced with the problem of the purpose of psychological investigation. A lively controversy between Titchner and Watson is an example of this battle, the former wanting to study human behavior for the sake of studying it while the latter, along with John Dewey and

others, maintained that the findings should be used in the solution of problems. Increasingly, the latter view has prevailed, and a rather extended discussion of this kind of consideration is offered in a book by Robert S. Lynd.³

As for the actual difficulties facing the social sciences, these are many. An area as young and as unexplored as social science is bound to promote an extensive range of differing viewpoints, and each of these is likely to gather a group of adherents around it. This process in the social sciences has tended not only to find several different social science departments (and sub-departments) within the faculty of a university, but it has also led to the development of different "schools" within a single discipline. The result often leads to a variety of different approaches and explanations of a given phenomenon on the part of the different disciplines and schools within disciplines, giving the appearance that the social scientists themselves cannot agree. The differences, it should be stated, are far more apparent than real in most cases, but even where they are real they simply represent the expected growing pains that a new science must endure and that indeed even the Newtonian physicists have had to endure in the light of Einstein's theories. The search for scientific truths will often lead to diversity of opinion; but one must consider that this is a strength, a matter of internal validation of findings, which in the long run is far more likely to yield truths than is a universally accepted statement which is unquestioned and thereby never committed to prove its own case.

Another difficulty in social science investigation is the obvious fact that social scientists cannot put man into laboratories or sociological test tubes and observe their actions. Studies of panic, for example, must depend on these phenomena happening and the social scientists who have been patiently waiting, rushing to the scene to conduct their investigations. This is a slow process, but one which must necessarily remain so. Animal studies can give some insights, but the actual use of human subjects in social science

experiments, as in medical experiments, cannot proceed in a free society without regard to the rights and feelings of the society itself.

As was mentioned earlier, many people are dubious about the feasibility of studying a phenomenon so complex as human behavior. This is no mean consideration when one is dealing with the difficulties of social science analysis. Human behavior is extraordinarily complex, and an enormous multiplicity of variables enter into each investigation. The fact that social science does in fact make some very valid observations and offers insights at all is a testimony to its increasing ability to answer more and more problems. Certainly social science aims at the exploration of a most complex problem area, and the fact that it has some difficulty is neither especially surprising nor particularly discouraging. It is perhaps the rate of technological change and improvement which tends to color our perception of how quickly and perfectly we expect social science to move. The fault then may be with us and not with a very young, virile, and flexible science which has addressed itself to perhaps the most impressive problem available, the study of man himself.

Other difficulties include the fact that social science discoveries do not lead directly to a monetary "pay-off" as do technical inventions. The impact of the social science discoveries is spread out in time and does not yield the same kind of instantaneous satisfaction (or publicity) that the technical inventions may enjoy. Finally, there are two powerful considerations, both aspects of the same thing, which tend to impede the progress of social scientific investigation. The first of these is the fact of tradition, with all its implications for continuing to use older prejudices and modes of thinking rather than allowing new concepts and ideas to express themselves. Another such consideration is the fact that the social scientist's findings are usually involved to some degree with "values." Although his work presumably takes place in an atmosphere of objectivity, his findings about such matters as

social progress and integration often run headlong into traditional political and social prejudices. This whole area is substantially discussed by Lundberg, who makes clear some of the potential hardships which social science may encounter in its run-in with tradition.⁴

As for some of the positive considerations, it may best serve the purposes of this report to enumerate briefly some of the areas where social science has been used with increasing vigor by industry and government. Social science has been used by the government during the war in giving insights into foreign cultures and in understanding them for purposes of better relations and even potential propaganda. It has been used in housing studies dealing with inter-group relationships, and was alluded to in the memorable Supreme Court decision on segregation. Other utilization occurs in polling and attitude measurement in efforts to determine potential needs and desires of different groups of people. Social science has been used in rehabilitation, in the study and treatment of mental illness, and in studies of criminality and delinquency. It has been and continues to be used in the selection of personnel for different jobs and in the training of people in the performance of various tasks. Further utilization may be observed in studies of alcoholism and drug addiction and the factors contributing to such behavior patterns. We find social science used increasingly more in urban renewal and development, and in a variety of other ways. Most of all, though, it has and continues to study human beings, their characteristic reactions to situations, their drives and needs and their modes of expression. This it will continue to do with increasing competence as its tools become sharper and more varied, and with undiminishing vigor. It has broken some of the traditional barriers which have kept its investigations dormant or socially outlawed and it will continue to do so at an accelerated pace.

Perhaps one of its greatest strengths and weaknesses lies in the fear which people have of it. Their fear is certainly an obstacle

to the social scientist in his quest for information and public audiences to utilize this information. It is also, however, mute testimony to the respect which people have for its ability and potential success. Its most vociferous denouncers are the very people who are afraid of the imminent threat which it poses to their private control and prejudice, to their own "truths" which may be found to be not so very true in the light of open investigation. Without being excessively optimistic, there is certainly reason to think that it can help us understand ourselves better than we ever did, and that it can help us understand each other, something which we hardly ever have done. Social science can help us to become better adjusted within ourselves and better adapted to those around us and to our environment. It can teach us more things about other people to the extent, it is hoped, that the age-old religious aims of good will may be recognized where those institutions themselves have failed and where they fight with vigor against the very social science that may bring their desires into fruition.

Some of the more specific needs of social science today include a more integrated approach to their common problem areas on the part of the various social science disciplines. This means greater interchanges of ideas, better communication between social science departments, schools, and individuals, and even increased consolidation as we learn increasingly more that sociology, cultural anthropology, and social psychology are not so different, and that they can both learn from and teach people involved with economics and political science. Another great need on the part of social science is a greater acceptance on the part of the elite and leadership groups within the community. Only in this way can social science attack social problems on a broad front where many aspects of significant problems can be simultaneously examined in place of the piece-meal investigations which now characterize its efforts. It is hoped that these desirable changes will come about soon, and it is firmly believed that when they do, social

science will set out with even greater vigor to explore what it has set out to explore, the behavior of socialized human beings.

¹ Chase, Stuart, *The Proper Study of Mankind*. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1956, p. 23.

² Lundberg, George, Schrag, C., and Larsen, O., *Sociology*. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1956, pp. 10-13.

³ Lynd, R. S., *Knowledge for What?* Princeton University Press, 1939.

⁴ Lundberg, George, *Can Science Save Us?* N. Y.: Longmans, Green & Co., 1947, pp. 5-6, 26-27.

Philippine Nationalism — Myth or Reality?

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A host of factors combine to mitigate against a strong Filipino national feeling. Certainly one of the most significant of these is heterogeneity of language. Ten principal dialects and scores of lesser ones complicate the problem of communication. This proliferation of languages is perpetuated in the school systems. A student beginning school is taught in the vernacular for the first two grades. From the third grade through high school the student must learn English and Tagalog. Beginning with high school Spanish is required and must be continued through college. The capable student is something of a linguist after such a detailed exposure, but the unifying force of a national language is somehow missing. Tagalog, the official national language, and English are each spoken by about 30 per cent of the populace. The choice of Tagalog as a national language caused considerable resentment among the non-Tagalog-speaking peoples.

Other cultural facts tend to cause division rather than unity. Pride in Malay heritage clashes with a desire for things Western. The sleepy life of the rural village contrasts sharply with rock-and-roll and juvenile delinquency in urban centers. Handsome men and beautiful women are eulogized in the literature, and yet large quantities of bleaching cream are sold to lighten the brown Malay skin.

The religion is dominantly Roman Catholic, and Church and state are ostensibly separate; but Protestants, Muslims, and other groups chafe under obvious religious favoritism. Mutual distrust between Catholic and non-Catholic groups is the rule rather than the exception. Political parties, which are largely alliances of kinship groups, vilify their opponents by word and deed in a manner which would shock the most hardened political infighter in the United States.

The gulf between upper and lower income groups is tremendous, and the poorer classes long have nurtured their resentment of the higher income groups. Dissimilar outlooks yield different responses to nationalistic movements.

A colonial mentality causes a substantial segment of the populace to long for the "good old days" when Americans took care of their problems. Your author was frequently drawn into conversations in which Filipinos have expressed the wish that the Philippines had remained a commonwealth of the United States.

Basically, the Filipino of 1959 is a schizophrenic. On the one hand he desires to enjoy the fruits of democracy, and yet he is unwilling to pay the fiscal and civic price necessary to have a thoroughly workable democratic government. Filipinos aspire to

luxury goods introduced by Americans, and at the same time they realize that the economic stability of the country depends upon the implementation of a stern austerity program. Philippine newspapers cry for payment of war damage claims and demand larger American aid, and the editors, in the same breath, decry graft and corruption in their own government. Military organizations plead for additional military aid, and simultaneously insist that the defense of the Philippines is up to the United States. Incongruously Filipinos want American aid because of their fear of Red China, and yet they raise a great hue and cry about the presence of American military bases in the Philippines. Filipinos proclaim the solidarity of Fil-American friendship "tested in blood on Bataan and Corregidor," and at the same time they deplore their economic dependence on the United States. Because of a welter of antithetical information from all sides it is difficult to ascertain whether the present nationalism movement is really nationalistic or whether it is simply a normal anti-colonial reaction.

Filipinos have asserted their independence since the chief Lapu Lapu and his followers killed Magellan. Spanish conquest was resisted, but lack of communication and co-ordinated action resulted in fairly rapid Spanish conquest. However, certain dissident elements, particularly Moros, were never quelled. José Rizal provided the intellectual food and Emilio Aguinaldo the military organization which spawned the revolution against Spain shortly prior to American conquest. Filipino expectations of an independence which did not materialize after Spain's defeat led, in part, to the Philippine Insurrection. After the Insurrection was put down, Filipino leaders began, through normal constitutional means, to acquire an increased measure of self-government. Finally independence was promised, and in spite of the interruption of World War II, was granted July 4, 1946. Agreements were signed with the United States whereby certain areas would be retained as American military installations. Sangley Point and

Subic Bay naval and air stations, Clark Air Force Base, and Camp John Hay are still used as American bases, and their presence is a thorn in the side of Filipino nationalists. The fourteen years since independence have been rocky ones, and nationalism currently serves as a rallying cry to focus attention on something other than political and economic ills. Politicians have been quick to seize upon this non-existent issue of colonialism vs. nationalism to improve their own political position. And, while it is certainly true that many things divide Filipino opinion, in some things there is a virtual unanimity of opinion. This area of common interest is, of course, utilized by the "Filipino First" group in furthering their own ends.

The military situation has provided grist for the mill of the wild-eyed nationalists. The very existence of American bases on Filipino soil is bound to cause some resentment. A knotty problem resulting from this situation is the jurisdictional issue. American personnel who commit crimes are subject to American military justice if the crime is committed while the serviceman is on duty. To date American military commanders have been making all decisions regarding jurisdictional matters. This has been a blow to Filipino pride, since they wish to have their courts make decisions relative to such problems. A great public clamor is heard calling for a revision of the entire agreement. Some extremists have adopted a "go home American" attitude. Nor is jurisdiction the only military bone of contention. The Joint United States Military Assistance Group (JUSMAG) has been put in the anomalous position of recommending the type of military assistance to be given to the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and at the same time they are asked to recommend appropriate cuts. Different points of view caused by two varying strategic concepts are in direct conflict. On the one hand AFP wishes to modernize her military machine in order to make her fighting forces into a self-sufficient, self-contained entity, while JUSMAG sees the AFP as an adjunct of American forces in the event of

a conflict. Obviously these two groups are working at cross purposes and friction frequently develops. An ostentatious show of wealth, on the part of American military personnel and dependents, is an additional irritant. Some of the most rabid of nationalists point to the mere presence of American military bases and servicemen as inviting targets for the Red Chinese. The sovereignty question, real or imagined, is brought to bear upon military bases, and Filipino opinion is almost unanimous in insisting that something must be done to change existing Fil-American military agreements.

Economic aid is another serious point of difference between Filipinos and Americans. Filipinos assert correctly, that American aid to World War II enemies (Japan and Germany) and neutralist nations such as India and Indonesia has been greater than that tendered to the Philippines. Americans counter by pointing out that Filipino aid, on a per capita basis, is near the top of the list in Asia. Further, it is stated that the tangible benefits accruing to Filipinos because of the existence of American bases are very large. Civilian and military payrolls for Filipinos are large, and American personnel spend great sums in the Filipino economy.

In addition, Filipinos have long been piqued by the fact that we have failed to pay all monetary claims which they consider legitimate. Among the most important of these claims are the war damage claims, and claims resulting from Filipino losses due to the United States' change in fiscal policy which had to do with the elimination of the gold standard. Americans reply that Filipinos suffered no more than Americans when the gold standard was dropped, and that American payments for war damages, inflicted during conquest and liberation, are already astronomical.

Technical and material support of the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) have been crucified on the basis of "not enough aid and too much American control." And there is no denying that errors of omission and commission can be traced directly to ICA's door. It is only fair to

point out, however, that the ICA identifying stickers can be found on a large percentage of the equipment in governmental agencies and at the University of the Philippines. To many Filipinos this bright red, white, blue and gold sticker is an affront. Criticism of ICA for failure to act in some instances and interfering in others is a rallying point for nationalism.

Nationalistic movements frequently operate under the guise of phobias of one sort or another. This hate campaign spills over into the personal lives of the people. Filipinos generally dislike the Chinese element in their population. This animosity is generated because Chinese business acumen has placed them in the forefront of the business, commercial, and banking classes. Envy of this Chinese success contributes to a unified hate Chinese campaign, and this emotion is shrewdly utilized by the so-called nationalists.

Who are the leaders of the nationalism campaign? In the main they fall into two categories: older disgruntled politicians who are Americophobes, and a vigorous group of "young Turks," who are attempting to make political hay by creating an issue, real or imagined. Leaders of the older group include ex-Senator and puppet President during the Japanese Occupation, José Laurel and Senator Clara Recto. One of the milder but most effective of the "young Turks" is Senator Emmanuel Pélaez. President Garcia maintains a rather discrete silence, but his lack of opposition lends tacit support to the movement. On the other hand Vice-President Diosdado Macapagal, a political opponent of the President, talks a pro-American line. The ground of many individuals shifts almost daily in response to changing political currents. Recto and Laurel, however, remain truculently anti-America. Their attitude probably stems from the fact that they were branded as little better than traitors by the Americans because of their war-time record of collaboration.

Why then, the nationalistic movement? How successful has it been? Several factors combine to contribute to a movement to-

wards nationalism. First, and probably foremost in importance, is the desire for creating a political issue, even if the issue is largely a "straw man." Hatred for Americans because of old wounds, real or imagined, creates an anti-American movement, which masquerades under the guise of nationalism. The natural resentment of a brown-skinned oriental to a white-skinned former colonial provides a spark which can readily be fanned into open flame. Communist sympathizers have seized upon every effort to promote nationalism in the belief that a movement away from the U.S. will ultimately be a benefit to them.

It is most difficult to assess the effects of

the nationalistic movement, but perfunctory examination suggests that the Filipinos will be less dependent upon the United States in the future than they are at the present. In spite of the erosion of much good will by a certain ineptness on the part of some American government employees it appears likely that Fil-American friendship is an abiding thing. The Republic of the Philippines will probably assume a posture of more complete independence as befits a sovereign state. Whatever the effects of the present nationalism campaign the common ideal and purposes of the Philippines and the United States make it certain that their destinies are inextricably linked.

The Teachers' Page

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WHAT CONSTITUTES AN EDUCATED MAN?

G. K. Saiyidain, Secretary of the Ministry of Education of India, was quoted in *The New York Times* (August 23, 1959) on the meaning of education. Mr. Saiyidain delivered the 1958-59 Sachs Lectures at Teachers College, Columbia University, which were published by the college under the title "Education and the Art of Living." We quote from *The New York Times*:

A subway ride is a matter-of-fact experience for most New Yorkers, but to a distinguished foreign visitor it underscored a serious need in education.

"In that great democracy of preoccupied and rather glum travelers," he said, "I have noticed the purest form of 'gregariousness' without sociality.

"People sit bored and tongue-tied, reading their papers (with the cheering stories of murder and daylight robberies) or magazines and books (which are sometimes even serious and significant!) or doze in unattractive postures."

These people are schooled, he told himself—but are they educated? And then he

asked himself: "What is an educated man?" To find the answer, he formulated three test questions:

Can you entertain an idea?
Can you entertain the other fellow?
Can you entertain yourself?

The school which turns out students who can say "yes" to all three questions can pride itself on being on the road to education.

The Indian scholar believes that education must revive both the art of conversation and the art of reading. Although books are at the disposal of people, "most of them . . . neither know what to read or how to read." To provide the kind of education he envisages, which would be more than mere imparting of knowledge, would require a "courageous and imaginative reconstruction of the curriculum." Quoting again from the newspaper article:

This new curriculum, he said, should contain more world history and geography and more emphasis on international affairs than is presently afforded in school. It should give greater attention to the critical

study of the "living problems of American democracy," and inculcate in students "greater sensitiveness to the basic issues of freedom."

Mr. Saiyidain noted that his proposals for education for a better life touched upon the much-debated chicken-and-egg question of whether schools should merely reflect and follow society or whether they should set an example.

"When it becomes necessary," he said, "the school must learn to walk alone, and teachers should have the courage and imagination to inculcate the better values necessary for living with dignity in this difficult world."

The belief among *cultured* people has always been that the liberal arts provide the best, if not the only, curriculum for the development of an *educated* or *cultured* person. This point of view is held by many persons in higher education and others who have been educated in the humanities. Although not fully in opposition to this point of view, but certainly in contrast to it, has been the development of the practical or pragmatic viewpoint concerning what constitutes a good education. Such phrases as "from rags to riches" and "I can buy a dozen college graduates" have reflected, in the United States, the greater prestige value placed upon monetary success than upon success in the liberal arts. Perhaps this was an inevitable concomitant of the pioneering spirit that characterized both the continental and industrial expansion of the United States. To a Daniel Boone or a Wyatt Earp, it was more important whether he could shoot straight and fast, than whether he could quote Shakespeare. Where the immediate problem is one of a struggle for existence, that education serves best which helps the individual to cope with the problems at hand. The period of industrial expansion merely substituted one type of struggle for existence for another.

The history of the United States shows that the western states have tended to be more progressive than eastern states in such matters as politics, literature, and education.

The term *progressive*, as used here, means, of course, more willing to depart from established traditions. In general, older communities — those with established businesses, churches, schools — tend to want to conserve or to continue the status quo. The peoples of the eastern seaboard states — the original thirteen colonies — naturally cherished many of the *cultural* traditions and ideals of their mother countries. It is true that even the thirteen colonies differed considerably from the established traditions and mores of the European countries. But, once the wilderness was conquered and thriving communities established, then the people of the thirteen colonies wanted to belong again, to be identified, *culturally*, with the European ways of life. Even after a revolution, there is the tendency to regress to the old ways of living. That's part of human nature. It was, therefore, natural for the Colonists, even after the Revolution, to want to be not too different from the mother country with respect to the kinds of books they read, the kind of music they listened to, and the kinds of schools, colleges and universities to which they sent their children. In fact, for many years, "the thing to do" among the *cultured* classes was to have their children attend European schools and colleges. Even today, traveling in Europe is supposed to broaden one culturally.

This natural cultural inertia — the tendency for people to want to cling or return to old values and traditions — continued as a major influence, for a long time, in determining the nature of American education, both in the lower schools and in colleges and universities. The study of Latin and Greek, not for the purpose of learning foreign languages *per se*, but as an educational discipline — as part of the liberal arts program — continued to be prescribed for many years.

At the same time, the pioneering, rebellious spirit that motivated many people to "Go West" also caused them to question existing values and traditions that characterized the culture of the older colonies. The measure of success, in the newly developed territories of the West, was not how much of an education one had — or even the kind of

family one came from—but what the individual could do. If a person became a wealthy farmer, cattle raiser, or business man, he was successful—regardless of his cultural background. Gradually, as the West became settled, and as the industrial revolution and American "know-how" transformed the American economy, this pragmatic point of view — this "does it work" philosophy — became the dominant influence in our culture, including education. For the few *elite* families who sent their sons to Harvard, Princeton, or Yale, the old traditional liberal arts curriculum was still regarded as *the education for culture*, or as the kind of education necessary in preparing for the professions. However, increasingly, the concept of a *practical education* — the kind of education that would be most useful to a boy or girl — grew in strength. Land grant colleges, state colleges, state universities, junior colleges, technical institutes mushroomed all over the country.

In time, high schools all over the country modified their curricula to keep pace with this changing educational philosophy — particularly as the democratic ideal for universal education gained in popularity. Consequently, not only pragmatism in education, but the changing character of the secondary school population—boys and girls whose abilities and interests ranged from below normal to superior—made it necessary to reevaluate the traditional college preparatory curriculum as *the course to be followed by all secondary school pupils*. Thus, along with the liberal arts curriculum, there were introduced on the secondary school level courses in commercial subjects, home economics and home making, industrial arts, agriculture, and vocational training. The overall goal of education in the high school, along with the traditional liberal arts curriculum for those pupils who had the ability to go to college, became preparing young people for *citizenship, for command of the fundamental processes, for proper use of leisure time, for good family living, and for vocational competence* in some area of our economy.

Today in the space age, there is of neces-

sity a demand for a reevaluation of curricular offerings both on the college and the secondary school levels. Two powerful forces are at work in this connection. One is the matter of our national survival—competition with the communist countries in the areas of economic, military, and scientific progress, which includes everything having to do with the development of long range missiles, nuclear striking power, space travel, as well as progress in automation. The second force is our continued devotion to democracy and laissez-faire economy. How to fulfill the goals espoused by both these forces is our big problem in education today.

Those who see our salvation in our developing missile and nuclear superiority, argue for the more rigid, old European type of school, with the major emphasis being placed on mathematics, science, engineering, and foreign languages. They condemn all high school programs that have anything to do with *life adjustment* education. More recently, there has been renewed emphasis even among these people to include the teaching of the humanities, along with science, mathematics and engineering. William Burton, formerly vice president of the University of Chicago, assistant secretary of state, U. S. Senator, and present chairman of the board of the Encyclopedia Britannica, believes that the liberal arts represent the best education for leadership. Writing in the *Saturday Review* (August 15, 1959), he stated:

"I have long believed that the liberal arts not only produce gentlemen of culture, but are also the best education for businessmen . . .

"At best, any business leader requires a high level of skill in communication. The ability to write well and speak well is the most important vocational asset of all."

The training of men to be free, Mr. Burton states, is even more important than training business leaders.

"The liberal arts have always embraced the education appropriate to free men."

The strongest passage in Mr. Burton's article is probably the following:

"If we do not arrest and reverse the erosion of our potential education resources, we recklessly risk losing out to the vast technocratic new Sparta of the communist world. Far from abandoning the liberal arts, we must reemphasize their high importance as the core of the curriculum. The materialistic and technological cast of Soviet higher education can prove to be the Achilles heel of the communist system."

Even if there is agreement on the value of liberal arts in the education of young people, the crucial questions still are:

1. What should be the content of the liberal arts curriculum on the high school level? On the college level?
2. Should all young people be compelled to take a liberal arts program?
3. What subjects, other than liberal arts courses, should be included in the high school curriculum? In the college curriculum?

The principal weakness in all educational proposals is that there is no way of providing immediate proof regarding which proposed philosophy or practice will ultimately prove most effective in the "educated man" who will best be able to cope with the problems of our day. Unfortunately, education is one area in which scientific experimentation is limited. Admiral Hyman Rickover, for example,

believes that the American high school should follow the Continental approach to education. He himself is apparently a result of such an education. On the whole, the results in his case are good, although he displays a rigidity and an inflexibility in his personality makeup which one finds difficult to admire. On the other hand, there is, for example, Al Capp, the cartoonist, who in a recent interview confessed repeated failure in his high school geometry course. Both Mr. Rickover and Mr. Capp are examples of successful and well educated men in their own fields.

There is the fable of two little donkeys, each carrying heavy loads, about to cross a stream. The first little donkey accidentally tripped and fell with his load into the water. Upon rising, he expressed great relief in that his load became lighter. The second little donkey, upon seeing this, tripped on purpose. To his chagrin, his load increased in weight. The first animal was carrying salt, whereas the load of the second animal was sponges.

The moral of this fable, as it applies to the responsibility of our schools in developing educated men, is that we must consider first the individual's basic potentialities with respect to the kind of education he can profit from, as well as his own personal goals, and the basic goals of our society.

Instructional Materials

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mount Vernon, New York

Safe Driving. Four filmstrips are available for driving training courses (free). Shell Oil Co., 50 W. 50th Street, New York 20, N. Y.

Insurance. A packet of 35 booklets, pamphlets, handbooks, on life and health insurance, family finances, and insurance careers, available free from: Institute of Life Insurance, 485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

The Glorious 50. An illustrated brochure recounting the stories behind our 50 state flags, available free from Public Relations Branch, State Mutual of America, Worcester 5, Mass.

Life In Our Town. A manual for teaching economic concepts to elementary school children in grades one through six; 50 cents; National Schools Committee, American Economic Foundation, 51 E. 42nd St., New York 17, N. Y.

Guides To Free Materials. Three publications from Educators Progress Service, Randolph, Wis.: (\$7.50) "Elementary Teachers' Guide to Free Curriculum Material"; (\$9.00) "Educators' Guide to Free Films"; (\$6.00) "Educators' Guide to Free Filmstrips."

Geography Aides. Leaflets and pamphlets are available from the National Council for Geographic Education, Box 303, Faculty Exchange, Univ. of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.: (25 cents) "Maps and Mapping in the First Grade"; (25 cents) "Suggested Readings for High School Geography"; (\$1.00) "Geography Via the Use of Slides, Filmstrips, Motion Pictures, Opaque Projectors"; (\$1.00) "Geography Via the Use of Pictures."

FILMS

A Day in Court. 30 min. Free Loan. Modern Talking Picture Service, Inc., 3 East 54th St., New York 22, N. Y. A story about the problems of traffic accidents dramatically revealing common causes of accidents and presenting an effective solution. (Sponsored film).

Opportunity U.S.A. 27 min. Free Loan. Modern Talking Picture Service Inc. Shows how the investment banker channels savings into productive use by business and government. (Sponsored film.)

Report on Africa—West Africa. 25 min. Sound. Color. Sale/rental. Educational Services, 1730 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. Covers Congresswoman Boton's survey of French West Africa, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Togoland, French Equitorial Africa, etc. Depicts life among these people, occupations, health, etc.

Seconds To Safety. 15 min. Sound. Color. Write to Information and Education Dept., Aetna Casualty and Surety Co., Hartford, Conn. Points out that smoke and superheated air, the biggest killers in school fires, can make the atmosphere deadly throughout the building even before the flames are widespread, thus increasing the need for well-organized, thoroughly drilled evacuation plan.

The Atlantic Region. 23 min. Black & white. Sale. The Canadian Film Board of Canada, Canada House, 680 Fifth Avenue, New York 19. A study of the Canadian east coast region, north from the New England states, showing the life and industry of its people.

The Great Plains. 24 min. Black & white. Sale. The Canadian Film Board. Examines the vast prairie region of Canada, source of new oil production. The varied occupations of farmers and townsmen are shown throughout the year.

Mountains of the West. 20 min. Black & white. Sale. The Canadian Film Board of Canada. A study of the physical and economic geography of the Western ranges whose rivers power Boulder Dam and the Kitimat aluminum project. Film shows how the Canadians have unlocked the resources of this region for industrial use.

Letter From Indonesia. 16 min. Black & white. Color. Sale. Churchill-Wexler Film Productions, 801 N. Seward St., Los Angeles, Calif. This is a portrayal of Indonesia as a nation, her geographical location and size, her people and their mode of life, their reliance on our concepts of freedom in their struggle for independence, and concludes with a brief review of current educational and social reforms following 300 years as a colony.

FILMSTRIPS

India: Democracy in Asia. 52 fr. Black & white. Sale. Office of Educational Activities, *The New York Times*, 229 W. 43rd Street, New York 36, N. Y. Develops India's leadership of the neutralist bloc, the steps to overcome backwardness and the heavy hand of the past, India's needs for aid, relations with the U. S. and Russia, and the nation's role as the crucible of democracy in Asia.

The French Revolution. 44 fr. Black & white. Sale. Heritage Filmstrips, Inc., 89-11 63rd Drive, Rego Park 74, N. Y. Depicts the history of the French Revolution, opening with the calling of the Estates-General

of 1789, and closing with the end of the Reign of Terror. A summary analyzes the significance of the Revolution for human freedom.

Causes of the French Revolution. 34 fr. Black & white. Sale. Heritage Filmstrips, Inc. An analysis of the Old Regime in France, presenting a logical synthesis of general causes for the revolt of 1789. Heavy taxation, poverty of the peasants, and problems of the middle class are explained in detail. *Popular Sovereignty—U.S.A.* 42 fr. Black & white. Sale. Heritage Filmstrips, Inc. Analyzes the efforts of our country to develop representative institutions of the most democratic kind. Discusses representative government, changes in our three branches of Federal government,

nomination procedures, and other problems of popular control of government.

RECORDINGS

These four one-half hour dramas are based on Columbia University's bicentennial theme, "Man's Right To Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof," and concern some of our basic values: the right to explore freely the world of knowledge and ideas; the right to communicate knowledge and ideas to others; the right to form and hold one's opinions, however unpopular; and the right of all members of the human family to share in these rights. Sale CMC Center for Mass Communications, Columbia University Press, 1125 Amsterdam Avenue, New York 25, N. Y.: (1) Socrates, (2) Galileo, (3) Lovejoy, (4) Gandhi.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia

An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837. By Charles I. Foster. Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960. Pp. 280. \$6.00.

This book represents an able attempt to achieve the impossible. Dr. Foster tries, at least in part, to explain nothing less than the all-important transition in both England and America from the Enlightenment to Victorianism, from latterday Puritanism to evangelism, from reason to romanticism, or, in reality, from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. He sees the best clue to this transition in a united, well-organized ideological defense and, after a period, aggressive offensive conducted by conservative, middle-class, Protestant evangelical groups through their benevolent societies. The leaders of these societies were the real subversives in the camp of liberalism. Always using the terms of the present Cold War, Foster describes the monolithic doctrines of the evangelicals—the emphasis upon religious experience as the one revelation of

truth, upon a harsh view of man, upon piety in terms of inner feelings, and upon a fear of change. Charity became a ministration to the soul instead of the body, and poverty became either a blessing or a sign of poor character.

Attacking the infidelity of the Enlightenment, as symbolized by the French Revolution and by the party of Thomas Jefferson, and the crude, uncivilized disorganization of the frontier, as symbolized by Jacksonian democracy, these aristocratic, self-righteous evangels were able, first in England and then in America, to unite Christians of various sects, to form their Bible, missionary, Sunday school, tract, and sundry other moralistic societies, and, through a continuous barrage of propaganda, to shape and control the thought of two generations. The leaders of these societies became the dictators of public morality and the arbiters of public taste. In the United States they restored the prestige of organized religion, gave the country its pervasive Protestant character,

and established the somewhat nebulous but distinctively American union of religion (not Church) and the state. They temporarily lessened and, in a backdoor type of ecumenicalism, came near to destroying the meaning of denominationalism by creating a type of supra-Church in their societies. Though working outside of politics, they aspired to be the real dictators of their countries and eventually of the whole world, using the subtle ideological conditioning apparatus of their societies to create such a complete conformity in basic beliefs as to nullify the real effectiveness of democratic political machinery. They almost succeeded in the United States, but with success and the loss of a crisis condition, the movement broke up after 1837 in renewed denominational factionalism.

This book is marred by glib and superficial generalizations about religious denominations and about the South. It abounds with superficial and all too pat philosophical labels, such as Cartesian categories and methods, Platonic views, and even a "Ciceronian type of relationship." But these distracting weaknesses are more than balanced by a lively, imaginative style, by provocative though questionable interpretations, and by a pervading verve and an unconcealed enthusiasm all too rare in a historical monograph.

PAUL K. CONKIN

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Group Methods in Supervision and Staff Development. By Arthur C. Abramson. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959, Pp. 201. \$3.75.

This is a volume replete with case studies and examples of actual experiences related to training for supervision and group work in the field of social work. Educators, however, who have had considerable pressure to include greater attention to group processes in their endeavors and who are frequently dissatisfied with the supervisory conditions under which they operate will gain some helpful suggestions from the initial chapters.

The second chapter is devoted to basic concepts of social and human value in training for successful group methods work. Fourteen fundamental concepts are listed and explained. These include the following viewpoints: that leadership is participatory rather than authoritative direction; that decision-making is likewise democratic; that maximum development of the individual self, as well as the whole group, is basic; that the individual's relationships to others influence his development and adjustment; that differences of opinion are recognized, accepted, and encouraged and that the services of individuals are utilized where most useful; that the culture has considerable influence upon the individual and the group; that behavior and conditions are the result of multiple causation; that all growth and change within individuals, groups, and communities are accompanied by varying degrees of resistance; that attitudes are very important in the solution of individual and group problems; that both "internal" and "external" should be used to resolve problems; that continuing evaluation of programs is essential; that approaches — methods and processes — change continually during a project; and that position and membership in groups influence the responsibilities assigned to or expected of individuals.

Chapter Three contains a discussion of some of the techniques found most valuable in the social case work research reported and the conclusions hold some implications for teachers who want to use the same methods — group discussion, lectures, and field trips.

The second chapter presents nine guideposts or principles that the author and his groups found applicable in carrying out their training programs. Again, these can provide a background useful to educators and supervisors in developing leadership skills, and techniques. Principles discussed include: (1) valid and attainable objectives should be formulated at the onset of a project; (2) timing — beginning where the group is, keeping the group together, and knowing when to be assertive as a leader — is very important in

the attainment of a program; (3) the primary focus of subject matter should be upon the clientele to be served; (4) positive response by the leader to objective, factual material, as well as the feelings of the group, is very important; (5) this sensitivity holds for the opinions of each person, as well as to those of the group as a whole; (6) minority opinion must be permitted—in fact, expression of such should be promoted; (7) leaders must have a high degree of recognition of their own positive and negative feelings about the group, individuals in the group, and the group topic, and be able to manage these constructively; (8) the group should be encouraged particularly to draw on and use its own resources in solving educational problems, and the leader encourages group participation and individual initiative in such discussion and decision-making; and (9) the leader or teacher must make clear to the group what has already been arbitrarily chosen and within what limits the group itself is empowered to choose and act. All of these would seem to relate to effective teacher-pupil planning.

RICHARD E. GROSS

Stanford University
Stanford, California

Putting First Things First. By Adlai E. Stevenson. New York: Random House, 1960. Pp. 115. \$3.00.

This is an excellent evaluation of our present foreign policy, and a volume of pertinence for the reading of the scholar and layman. Its lucidity and analysis of some of the most critical problems of our time make it an outstanding contribution.

In discussing the nature of our foreign policy, Stevenson is of the opinion that our leaders have been pursuing an almost wholly defensive approach. American foreign policy has been and is currently being constructed as a reaction to Communism. Economic aid has been given to nations in most instances to prevent the spread of Communism; it has not been given with creativity and the overwhelming desire to diffuse the technological

revolution. The U. S. is exploring space because it is disturbed by Russia's hitting of the moon first; it is not because we have totally a desire to extend our knowledge. The awakening of Americans regarding their educational flaws has come about not because of a concern for the wasting of human resources, but really because the Russians are producing more scientists.

On the question of democracy versus communism, Stevenson admonishes the free world for its lack of convictions. He states that there is no dedication or sacrifice too great for the furtherance of Soviet society. Furthermore, he calls to the reader's attention its world minded approach and its firm belief that the whole human race will eventually be a communistic brotherhood. Americans, he claims, have not grasped the degree of dedication which lies behind Communism. Stevenson warns the free world that "freedom demands infinitely more care and devotion than any other political system." America must rediscover its real purpose and direction of its existence, or it will not remain free. He concludes, "And between a chaotic, selfish, indifferent, commercial society and an iron discipline of the Communists' world, I would not like to predict the outcome."

Then Mr. Stevenson discusses one of the most challenging problems of the twentieth century, our relations with the enormous Communist China. He is of the firm belief that negotiation and not force is the key to U. S.-Red Chinese relations in this age. He says that if the Communists would concede the threat of force against Formosa and subversion in Indochina, a peaceful frontier settlement with India, free elections under U.N. in Korea, and acceptance of the rights of inhabitants of Formosa to determine their own destiny by plebiscite under U.N. supervision, we might give up the American embargo of China's admission to the U.N., the evacuation of Quemoy and Matsu, and the inclusion of Korea and Japan as an atomic free zone. In conclusion, he asks that Red China be brought into the discussion of disarmament, and predicts a greater reaction

to world public opinion if Red China is associated with the United Nations.

Another area of great pertinence to all Americans is his discussion that the key to the settlement of a divided Europe lies in the control of general disarmament. He firmly believes that Germany will not be unified until there is a reduction of fear in Russia and the West. However, he believes that this will not come about by general disarmament but by a disarmament of adequate control.

After the reading of this volume, one will be convinced that Stevenson is a man of ideas, convictions, and a possessor of a depth of knowledge regarding the twentieth century international situation.

FRANK T. ARONE

Teaneck High School
Teaneck, New Jersey

The Kronstadt Revolt. By Emanuel Pollack.
New York: Philosophical Library, 1959.
Pp. x, 98, \$3.00.

On March 1, 1921—near the end of the long and exhausting Civil War between the "Reds" and the "Whites"—the sailors at the naval base in Kronstadt organized a rebellion against the Soviet regime. Mostly of peasant origin, they were incensed at the brutal Soviet methods of requisitioning grain from the peasants and of suppressing the factory workers in Petrograd.

According to the author of the book, who is on the faculty of the New School for Social Research in New York and director of the Russian language broadcasts for Radio Station WHOM, Soviet historians have either minimized or distorted the significance of the rebellion. For example, Professor Anna M. Pankratova, in her three-volume history of the U.S.S.R., ascribes its outbreak to domestic and foreign enemies, including Mensheviks, Trotzkyites, anarchists, Cadets, White emigrés, bourgeois nationalists, and other subversive elements.

To correct these Soviet distortions, the author has carefully examined the available documents, on the basis of which he has produced an interesting and dramatic account of

the rebellion. He asserts that the sailors, far from being anti-Communist, had been heroes of the October Revolution, whom Lenin, in fact, had designated as "the Pride of the Revolution." But they had become dissatisfied with the revolutionary leaders and methods, and had expressed indignation over the arbitrary and ruthless treatment of peasants and workers. In their resolution of March 1, 1921, they demanded, among other things, that the government ease the pressure on the peasants, grant civil rights, and permit the free re-election of all soviets by secret ballot. The Soviet leaders, feeling themselves threatened, ignored these demands for greater democracy in the Communist Party, and proceeded to crush all opposition within their ranks.

In the opinion of the author, the Kronstadt Rebellion "was the first and last openly organized political opposition of any consequence by the Russian people against the rulers of Soviet Russia." (Introduction, p. ii.) While it was instrumental in hastening the adoption of the New Economic Policy, its suppression, he concludes, clearly demonstrated that the Communists, as in the case of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, will stop at nothing in order to crush those who dare to challenge their power.

Here is a brief and stirring account of the heroic but unsuccessful attempt by the sailors of Kronstadt to overthrow the Soviet despotism.

RICHARD H. BAUER
University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Family Planning, Sterility, and Population Growth. By Ronald Freedman, Pascal K. Whelpton, and Arthur A. Campbell. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959. Pp. 515. \$9.50.

This volume is in the publisher's valuable sociology series of college texts and references. With current attention on the exploding world population problem, it is a most timely contribution toward understanding American population trends. This book reports the first nation-wide study, to the knowledge of this reviewer, that attempts to

determine the factors affecting the number of children that married couples have and the time when they have them. It reports on interviews with 2,713 young married women concerning the past and prospective growth of their families. Within the limitations of the human element, the interview technique and the statistics applied, the study claims to scientifically represent conditions in the larger population. The sample represents women of all classes and creeds, but Caucasian only, who were interviewed in their homes across the country by about 150 carefully trained interviewers.

On the basis of the interviews a description is given of: the number of children American couples of different backgrounds want and expect, the extent to which their desires are realized or are frustrated by sterility or ineffective planning, and the methods of control that they use to plan family growth. The cumulative effect of these individual decisions and actions is shown to be an effective determinant of the size and composition of our national population. This is demonstrated in the forecast presented of population growth in the United States to the year 2000 (when, the authors estimate, we are very likely to reach 315 million). These forecasts relate to the numbers of people of each age and sex as well as birth and death rates and the number of births during five year periods.

Technical explanations and detailed demographic factors are presented in appendices. Generally, however, the book is written at a level to be understood by the average educated adult and the many graphs and charts presented throughout the text are very clear. The volume seems to be a useful reference for intimate facts that are not commonly available.

The authors' major conclusions are that: (1) Fecundity impairments are very widespread in the American population, but they are not very important in determining the course of population trends; (2) Family limitation is now almost universally approved and is practiced widely and effectively by the white couples who need it; (3) All

classes of the American population are coming to share a common set of values about family size—the common norm of two to four children; (4) The consensus on the two-to-four-child family may be an important indication of a more familialistic orientation in American life; and (5) If present family growth plans are continued and realized, the American population will grow rapidly, although there may be important troughs and crests in the growth curve.

RICHARD E. GROSS

Stanford University
Stanford, California

The Roosevelt Panama Libel Cases. By Clyde R. Peirce. New York: Greenwich Book Publishers. 1959. Pp. 150. \$3.50.

Freedom of the press was seemingly to be put to a test in 1909. President Theodore Roosevelt that year launched libel proceedings against Delevan Smith, editor of the Indianapolis *News*, and Joseph Pulitzer, publisher of the New York *World*, for their criticism of the manner by which the United States acquired the right of way for the Panama Canal. Editorials in these papers which asked "Who got the Money?" constituted, in Roosevelt's view, criminal libel against the federal government. The merits of the cases were never settled by the courts, however, as they were dismissed for a lack of jurisdiction and the dismissal in one of the cases was upheld by the United States Supreme Court.

Clyde Peirce's account of these trials in *The Roosevelt Panama Libel Cases* is not satisfactory. Although the incident centered around the person of Roosevelt, the author failed to consult the former President's papers either in manuscript form or in the eight volume edition by Elting E. Morison (Cambridge, 1951-1954). Similarly he ignored the personal papers of the other principals. Peirce instead relied upon printed memoirs, secondary accounts, and scrapbooks of newspaper clippings. But even with respect to these materials he was remiss in his scholarly duties, for in his footnotes and bibliography he cites no work published

later than 1931—thereby missing, among other studies during that quarter-century, Dwight C. Miner's important book, *The Fight for the Panama Route* (New York, 1941).

Scholarship aside, the book is poorly written and fails to tell its story well. It might profitably have been reduced to article length as its 150 pages are unduly "beefed up" by forty pages devoted to a jumbled and confused account of how the United States secured the Canal Zone, by ten pages of bibliography—six of which list newspapers from which the author read clippings, and by fifteen pages of appendices which contribute nothing to the reader's understanding of the incident.

Errors abound (see pages 15 and 16 for several), but more often Peirce is merely clumsy in what he says. In the "Foreword" he refers to his work as being "necessarily definitive" when it is hoped he meant "necessarily delimited." On page 16 he says, ". . . no one at that time believed that the coast line of the United States extended as far as Nicaragua." Have they ever? Still later he refers to the "statutes of the laws of the United States Congress." (Page 90.)

In this "factual study" Peirce never makes it clear exactly what it is that he is trying to do. The only question he raises is one he has borrowed, "Who got the Money?" and that one he does not answer.

GERALD G. EGGERT

Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, Ohio

Reinhold Niebuhr On Politics. His Political Philosophy and Its Application to Our Age as Expressed in His Writings. Edited by Harry R. Davis and Robert C. Good. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960. Pp. xviii, 364, \$6.50.

It is often impossible to establish and maintain an enduring relationship between religion and politics because men tend to equate their political with their religious convictions thereby encouraging political idolatry. The basic difficulty is that all political positions are normally ambiguous and

men are wont to obscure this ambiguity by investing their cause with religious sanctity. So, perpetually, Christendom faces the question of how politics is to be related to faith.

Few men have done more to determine the possibilities and limitations of a Christian ethics in politics than Reinhold Niebuhr. Yet, while Niebuhr has written much on politics, his writings have never been systematic. The purpose of this compendium is to present Niebuhr's political philosophy in a convenient, complete, and organized form.

The volume is composed of three parts, and their arrangement reflects Niebuhr's own approach to political science: Part I contains an examination of the contemporary crisis, part of which Niebuhr believes arises from our inability to develop political and social institutions which are adequate for the kind of society which a technological civilization is producing. The other part of the contemporary crisis Niebuhr identifies as the minimal influence exerted by Christian doctrines upon most modern nations. Instead, men have accepted other faiths, like liberalism, communism, and fascism, because they would like to believe "that they have the power within themselves to complete their lives and their history."

Part II of the book presents Niebuhr's political philosophy. All men, Niebuhr thinks, lack the power to complete their lives and their history. For man is, as Pascal wrote, the victim of eternal despair; he is a mean between nothing and everything; he comprehends neither the beginning nor the end of things; this is "the dignity of man and his misery." According to Christian belief, man is tempted to make use of both nature and spirit for his own ends; this is the source of his destructiveness. To reconcile the paradox of man's freedom and finiteness, Niebuhr expounds a Christian political ethics which he believes transcends the catastrophes of history and which defines both the possibilities of human creativity and the limits of human possibilities. Part III contains ten chapters which illustrate Niebuhr's general approach to contemporary issues of public affairs, such as race relations, the Soviet

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threat, American world leadership, foreign policy, and the world community.

Taken altogether, Niebuhr's political thought is not easily labeled, but it is nevertheless an impressive reaffirmation of the Christian commitment concerning the nature of man and his destiny. Professors Davis and Good have performed a difficult task with distinction—they have made the political philosophy of Reinhold Niebuhr readily available to everyone.

HENRY M. HOLLAND, JR.

State University College of Education
Geneseo, New York

The Death of the Prussian Republic. By Earl R. Beck. Tallahassee, Fla.: The Florida State University, 1959. 283 pp. \$6.00.

This is a book about the rise and fall of the short-lived Prussian Republic which saw its birth in the German republic following World War I and its death in the Nazi mania for centralization and "Gleichschaltung." But

in order to tell the story of the Prussian Republic the author is required to paint in the background of the larger German picture—which becomes here a detailed, expert fascinating and well-written story of the rise of the Nazi power in the Weimar republic.

Who can best teach the novice—the highly trained expert or those who are trained only slightly beyond ignorance? There are those who believe that the gap between the expert and the novitiate is too broad to be gapped. It seems to me, however, that the best teacher is the expert who has learned patience and the ability to carry his students gradually along the path to mastery. The book under review is a treat for those who subscribe to the latter view. The author knows Germany. He knows it thoroughly and well. The reader is left with the feeling of satisfaction at having acquired a deep insight into modern German politics.

The public school teacher of social studies will not be able to transmit this entire picture to his students in the course of a

crowded year of world history, international affairs, etc. Nor should he try. But if he can summarize, popularize, and present the highlights of this book, he will have given his students a deeper insight into the phenomena of Nazism and the shaky democracy of Germany—a country still central to the troubles of our times.

SYDNEY SPIEGEL

Senior High School
Cheyenne, Wyoming

A John Brown Reader. Edited by Louis Ruchames. New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1960. Pp. 431. \$7.50.

John Brown is certainly one of the most controversial figures in American history. To some he was a saint and a noble martyr, to others he was a mad fanatic who would encourage murder and robbery, to yet others he was a frustrated and irresponsible failure.

There has never been, perhaps never will be, a really adequate biography of this strange person. Thus it is especially significant that we now have a balanced, reasoned, scholarly collection of the writings of and about this man. Dr. Ruchames subtitled his book "The Story of John Brown in His Own Words—In the Words of Those Who Knew Him—and in the Poetry and Prose of the Literary Heritage." A hundred and thirty pages are devoted to "The Story of John Brown Through His Letters and Other Writings." These range from family letters to business papers, and reveal much of both his life and his thought.

The second section, culled from letters, journals, magazines and newspapers, provides many comments on various aspects of John Brown's life. The third section ranges over the literature of a century and is most provocative.

The editor has supplied a twenty-page introduction and many comments and explanations. The volume is challenging to any student of the mid-nineteenth century. The alert social studies teacher will find many ways to use it in his American history

classroom.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN
State University College of Education
Cortland, New York

Mastering World History. By Philip L. Grosisser. New York: Keystone, Education Press, 1960. Pp. 456. \$4.00.

The author's claim to a "mastery" of world history by the selection of "truly important materials" so arranged that the average tenth-grade student can see the "essential facts" and their place in man's development is bound to arouse teacher comment. Some would agree that Ikhnaton's monotheism is a valid topic in the story of man's awakening conscience and then look askance at the one line treatment of it as a "mastery" of the topic. Again the single paragraph devoted to the "welfare state" in the post-war world (confined to Britain) would need much amplification by teacher and readings before any pretense to "mastery" could take place. To balance these remarks, the author presents an excellent and comprehensive treatment of Imperialism and its concomitant Nationalism among the colonial peoples, bringing into clear focus their awesome problem of affiliation or neutrality to the two great ideological nation leaders of the Cold War.

The appraisal does not detract from the validity of the book as a study guide to those volumes where topical expansion and depth penetration might take place; there is also the teacher himself who must use this volume as a prelude to the employment of his own resources. It is perhaps in the blend of these two factors that the mastery and the significance are experienced.

The format is conventional with ten units divided into forty-four chapters. Each unit presents an introduction and ends with unit review examination questions; of these, about three-fourths are objective type queries. Maps, charts, cartoons and other visual materials are adequate, varied and should appeal to the youthful reader.

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Soviet Economic Power. Its Organization, Growth and Challenge. By Robert Campbell, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2 Park Street, Boston, Mass. Price \$1.95.

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Tobacco and Americans. By Robert K. Heimann. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960. Pp. vii, 265, \$7.50.

The Rise of the American Nation. By Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1961. Pp. xxxxi, 880. \$4.20.

An Apostle of Freedom, Life and Teachings of Nicholas Berdyaev. By Michel Alexander Vallov. New York: Philosophical Library, 1960. Pp. 370. \$6.00.

Government in the Fifty States. By William Anderson, Clara Penniman, and Edward W. Weidner. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1960. Pp. xxiv, 509. \$6.50. Revised edition.

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